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Sheer elegance and purity of a Jaina nun as captured in a painting of a European artist of the past era of the Company

Courtesy M K Singhi

Evolution of the Jaina Theory of Lesya

SUZUKO OHIRA

How the doctrine of *leśyā* came into being in the Jaina system of thought is a frustrating problem to trace. Various aspects of *leśyā* are taken up in the *Prajñāpanā* XVII and the *Uttarādhyayana* XXXIV. However, they exhibit the conclusive accounts arrived at each stage, from which it is difficult to get a hint as to why and how the concept of *leśyā* arose in what context. *Leśyā* is included in the list of 14 *mārgaṇāsthānas* which makes its appearance for the first time in the *Saṭkhaṇḍāgama* in the immediate post-canonical age. *Leśyā* thus becomes an important concept in the context of *karma* theory in the post-canonical period. However, opinions are still divided among the scholars as to what the precise nature of *leśyā* is, and many ambiguities remain in the *leśyā* theory of the Jainas. In view of all this, we would like to attempt to trace in the following the evolution of the *leśyā* theory and show the direction of its development in the late canonical period by utilizing mainly the abovementioned texts (in the *Suttāgame*) along with the *Bhagavatīsūtra* (Agamodaya Samiti edition) which preserves certain key-texts in this and the relevant subject-fields.

The peculiar features of the Jaina theory of *leśyā* are as follows : Firstly, *leśyā* is of six kinds, i.e., *kṛṣṇa*, *nīla*, *kapota*, *tejo*, *padma* and *śukla*, which are different from the five colours assigned as the properties of *pudgala* including *karma*, i.e., *kṛṣṇa*, *nīla*, *lohita*, *pīta* and *śukla*. These six *leśyās* expressing the personality-index are stamped with the psychical and emotional tinges, distinguished from the colours of the matters. Secondly, no *leśyā* is assigned to Ayoga Kevalis in the 14 *guṇasthānas*. Thirdly, the basic rule of the *leśyā* theory is that a *jīva* is born with his last *leśyā*, that is, a *jīva* carries his last *leśyā* to his next birth even though it is not *karma* (cf. *Prajñāpanā* XVI. 473 and XVII. 3, *Bhagavatī* III.4.159, etc.). Fourthly, there frequently occurs the term *karma leśyā* in the texts belonging to the earlier stratum of the *leśyā* theory (cf. *Bhagavatī* III.4.159, XIV.9.534, etc.). Fifthly, the theory of *leśyā* involves the being's place of rebirth in the universe (cf. *Bhagavatī* XIV.1.500, *Prajñāpana* XVII.6). Lastly, the Jaina theoreticians in the canonical age frequently engage in the discussion as to whether the *leśyās* of certain beings can be perceivable

or not by this and that type of beings. This naturally pertains to *avadhi* (*kevala jñāna* can of course perceive them.) (cf. *Bhagavatī* VI.9.254, XIV.9.534, *Jīvājīvābhigama* 103, *Prajñāpanā* XVII.3.503, etc.). The first four features above are well-known in the theory of *leśyā*. We shall deal with the last two features in detail in the course of discussion.

From this emerge the following issues :

(1) *Leśyā* in six colours expressive of the personality-index of the beings is concerned with their places of rebirth in the *loka*, which is therefore absent in Ayoga Kevalis whose immediate next place to go is *Siddhaśilā*.

(2) The Jaina theory of *leśyā* involves itself with the *karma* theory in the context of *saṃsārī jīvas'* places of rebirth.

(3) *Leśyā* was considered something material like the light shining in some colour (√*śliṣ*, to burn[1]; √*leśa*[2]), for *avadhi* can perceive it

The evolution of the *leśyā* theory of the Jainas thus seems to involve the *karma* theory in the context of *saṃsārī jīvas'* next places of birth in the universe. In another word, an inquiry into the mechanism of the beings' next birth places and the *karma* theory in this context in their early stage should enable us to trace the evolution of the *leśyā* theory of the Jainas The concept of *leśyā*, the mechanism of rebirth in the *loka* and the theory of *karma* in their early stage are recorded in the *Bhagavatī* and the *Prajñāpanā* in the main, and their later phases are also found in the *Bhagavatī* and some *Uttarādhyayana* chapters In order to see how the Jaina theory of *leśya* evolved, it now seems to be imperative to inquire what were the conditions of the mechanism of rebirth in the cosmographic outlines and the development of *karma* theory in the relevant context in the contemporary stage of its evolution.

The *jīvas* in the form of H A.M.G. (i.e., H = Human beings, A = Animals, M = Men, G = Gods) are handled in the *Prajñāpanā* in the milieu of the cosmographical outlines, and these classes of beings are arranged roughly in due ascending order of their abodes situated in the *loka*. And the then Jaina theoreticians are busy in establishing a picture of the universe pervaded by the *jīvas* who are possessed of their peculiar behaviour patterns and natures of their own each according to their classes and sub-classes. Numerous *anuyogadvāras* are posed here in order to ascertain the natures and activities of *jīvas* in this and that class, which are later crystallized in the form of 14 *mārgaṇāsthānas*. These canonical authors are also engaged in the task of drawing a picture of the population

and mobility of the beings in this and that class in the universe, by way of computing how many beings in a particular class are born and die in one moment in this and that cosmographic region, and so on and so forth. All this was in the process of making in the immediate pre-*Prajñāpana* period.

A being's next *gati* is determined by his *gati nāma karma*. However, since the Jainas in this canonical age were trying to draw the ever moving picture of the beings in this and that class from one *gati* to the other in the cosmographic outlines, it was most convenient for them if the beings' rebirth chart were formulated so that a panoramic view of the beings' mobility in the three tenses of time can be easily grasped. Thus must have been devised the rebirth chart of the beings.

The *Prajñāpanā* XX imparts a finalized chart of rebirth as follows : H>A^5M ; A^1 (earth, water, plant)>A.M. ; A^1 (fire, wind)>A ; $A^{2\text{-}4}$ >A.M. ; A^5M.>H.A.M.G. , G>A^1 (earth, water, plant) A^5M. The rebirth chart offered in the *Bhagavatī* XVIII.9.642 is as follows : A^5M >H.G. ; A.M.G.>A^1 (earth, water, plant) ; A.M.>A^1 (fire, wind) $A^{2\text{-}4}$; H A.M.G.>A^5M. Both charts agree on the basic rules of rebirth, which are arranged from the different angles, thus suggesting that these two charts were formulated approximately around the same age. This rebirth chart can impart a dynamic view of the *jīvas'* probable direction of mobility expressed in terms of the alternative choices of their *gatis* in the three tenses of time, e.g , H >A^5M>H A.M G., but it cannot show the definite lines of their existential transformations

On what criteria this table of rebirth came into being seems to be as follows : A^5 and M who are possessed of minds can behave the widest range of actions from the worst to the best, therefore they are allowed to take rebirth in all forms of existence. H who have already suffered the worst possible existence are prepared to proceed to the higher classes of existence because they must have repented enough of their sins. They can thus skip $A^{1\text{-}4}$, but they are not worthy of attaining G, therefore A^5 and M may be the proper states of existence for them to proceed next. That A^1 repeat A^1 is well-known to the *Prajñāpanā*. $A^{1\text{-}4}$ who are without minds cannot behave positively good or bad, therefore the range of their actions is free from the two extremes, and the nature of their actions is confined within the range of their survival for existence, which is habitual, repetitive and non-progressive. Accordingly, they tend to repeat the existence within the circle of $A^{1\text{-}4}$, but cannot easily proceed to the other forms of existence. If at all $A^{1\text{-}4}$ can proceed to the next higher stage, they ought to be born as A^5 and M for their actions are

neither too bad to be born as H nor too good to be born as G. G who have fulfilled the happiest and most prosperous modes of life cannot be too bad to be born in the lowest states of existence, i.e., H and $A^{1\text{-}4}$, thus alotted to them are A^5 and M.

We can somehow explain out in this way how the canonical authors' minds worked in establishing these rules. These rules were then largely determined on the basis of the behaviour patterns of the beings in terms of religious psychology and ethics. The canonical authors added to them the account of popular belief as a criterion to formulate the rebirth chart of the beings, because the *Bhagavatī* XII.8.459, for instance, reads that a mighty god may take birth as a snake, a jewel or a tree for two consecutive lives, then upon having been honoured and worshipped, he shall take the last human birth to be emancipated. (Rebirth rule here is : $G > A^5 > A^5 > M$ and $G > A^1 > A^1 > M$). The Jainas in the immediate pre-*Prajñāpanā* age must have been busy in formulating this chart of rebirth.

A peculiar thing said about *leśyā* involving a being's next birth place in the *Bhagavatī* XIV.1.500 is that a spiritually advanced monk, who has died with the merit of attaining more than a certain heaven but does not merit the higher one, is to be born in the region between these two heavens where his last *leśyā* fits (*je se tattha pariyasso tal-lesā devāvāsā tahiu tassa uvavāe pannatte*). '*Tal-lesā devāvāsā*' evinces an idea that the upper world regions are expressed in terms of corresponding *leśyās* of the beings. We should note down that *leśyā* is here called *karma leśyā* which stands for *bhāva leśyā* in the later time Likewise, the *Prajñāpanā* XVII.6 attempts to explain which kinds of *leśyā* are possessed by the human beings in the cosmographic regions such as Bharata-Airavata, Devakuru-Uttarakuru, Antaradvipas, Dhatakikhanda, etc. This alleges that the cosmographic regions as such were expressed in terms of the corresponding *leśyās* possessed by the inhabitants.

The bearer of a soul's transmigration is a *kārmaṇa śarīra*. A *tejo śarīra* also accompanies them in order to enable his *āhāra* at the last moment of his life and at the moment of his entry in the new birth place. *Leśyā* is not *karma*. But the canonical authors framed a basic rule that *leśyā* is to be carried by a soul endowed with a certain definite function which a *kārmana* and *tejo śarīras* cannot perform. This function must then involve itself with the *karma theory* in the context of a *jīvas*' next birth place.

The dynamic perspective of the *jīvas*' mobility from one *gati* to the others in the universe is at once clear from the chart of rebirth. According

to the Jaina theory of *karma*, *gati nāma karma* is responsible for assigning to a being which form of existence he should take next, and *āyuṣ karma* is responsible for assigning to a being what is his life quantum in his next *gati*. *Ayuṣ karma* in four divisions of H.A.M.G. is already known to the *Prajñāpanā* XXIII. 1 which collects the earlier materials of *uttara prakṛtis*. Its Part 2 which lists *uttara prakṛtis* nearly in the standardized form belongs to a considerably later age.

Uttara nāma karmas are reckoned in the *Prajñāpanā* XXIII. 1 as follows: *iṣṭa śabda-rūpa-gandha-rasa-sparśa-gati-shtiti lāvaṇya-yaśahkīrti-utthānakarma-bala-vīrya-puṃsakārāparakrama-svara* and *kānta-priya-manojña svaras* as the fruits of *sukha nāma karma*, and the reverse contents as the fruits of *duhkha nāma karma*. This list on the whole appears strange to those who are accustomed to its standardized list in the later time. Among these *uttara nāma karmas*, *sthiti* is certainly anomalous, because it belongs to *āyuṣ karma*. It is reported that the later commentator records different interpretations as to *gati* and *sthiti nāma karmas* listed here.[3] Unfortunately, we are not in the position to be able to check the later commentator's interpretations about them. but *gati nāma karma* here should denote the standardized concept of *gati nāma karma* in four forms of existence, because the canonical authors had been dealing with the topics involving four *gatis* of the beings since long.

Gati nāma karma cannot assign to a *jīva* the precise place in the *loka* where he ought to be born next. Neither can *āyuṣ karma* take over this function. The faculty to determine to which cosmographic region an earth-being, for instance, should proceed next had to be thus entrusted to something else other than these *karmas*, which must have been an acute problem that the Jaina theoreticians were facing in the immediate pre-*Prajñāpanā* period.

Logically speaking, the capacity as such ought to be assigned to the sum total of *karma prakṛtis* accumulated by an individual being in this very life. The concept of *leśyā* which expresses a general index of the total contents making up an individual personality was readily available in the then non-Jaina schools.[4] It thus appears that the then Jaina theoreticians seized this current concept and assigned to it a faculty to determine a being's next birth place. This explains why they formulated a basic rule that a soul has to carry his last *leśyā* in his migratory path even though it is not *karma*, and why *leśyā* was called *karma leśyā* at its beginning stage.

The *Bhagavatī* XIV.9.534 reads that a spiritually advanced monk cannot know or see his own *karma leśyā* but knows and sees a *jīva* in the

material form accompanied by *karma leśyā*. Its VI.9.254 argues whether a *deva* with impure *leśyā* can or cannot know and see the pure or impure *leśyā* by way of concentrating, not concentrating or half concentrating his thought (here '*samohaya*' must mean '*samāhata*' but not '*samudghāta*' nor '*samavahata*'). In all the cases the reply comes forth in negation, but a Deva with pure *leśyā* alone is said to be able to know and see either pure or impure *leśyā* possessed by the other Deva or Devi by way of concentrating or half concentrating his thought. The parallel lines pertaining to an ascetic are located in the *Jīvājīvābhigama* 103. The *Prajñāpanā* XVII.3.503 talks about the possessors of *leśyā* and the range of their *avadhi*. All the texts above must be discussing about the same theme even though they do not employ the term *avadhi*.

All this suggests that *leśyā* which is perceivable by *avadhi* is material in nature. Then *leśyā* must have been conceived something material in connection with colour, like the light shining in some colour (/*śliṣ*, to burn; /*lesa*). Light is material in nature to the Jainas, of which idea already occurs in the *Sūryaprajñapti* V that the sun light cannot pervade the matters constituting Mt. Meru because light is of the material nature. The *Sūryaprajñapti* is of course the pre-*Prajñāpanā* work. The light shining in the colour expressive of the personality-index derived by the sum total of a being's *karmaprakṛtis*, which is free from weight, can accompany his *karmaṇa śarīra* and guide him to reach his next birth place without any difficulty. The then Jaina theoreticians in the immediate pre-*Pajñāpanā* age seem to have thus seized the currently available concept of personality-index distinguished by colour and named it *leśyā* by assigning to it the function to determine a *jīva's* next place of birth. Otherwise it is difficult to explain out the ambiguous points of *leśyā* theory recorded in the canonical texts

Now, six *leśyās* had to be allotted to the *saṁsārī jīvas* excluding Ayoga Kevalis whose immediate next place to go is *siddhaśilā*. *Jīvas* in 24 *daṇḍakas* are located in the universe in due cosmographic order excluding the case of A[1]. And the general characteristic features of the beings in this and that class were already known to the Jainas in the immediate pre-*Prajñāpanā* period. Therefore it was not a difficult task for them to assign three light *leśyās* to the heavenly beings and three dark *leśyās* to the hellish beings Those occupying the upper cosmographic regions have lighter *leśyās* and those residing in the lower regions have darker *leśyās* as they proceed. In effect, these cosmographic regions came to be expressed in terms of *leśyās* of G and H. Likewise the *leśyās* of M were broadly mapped out by going over the geography of *samaya kṣetra* (cf. *Prajñāpanā* XVII.6). Six *leśyās* were allotted to A^5M, the last four

leśyās to A^1 (earth, water, plant), and the last three *leśyās* to A^1 (fire, wind) and A^{2-4}. The allotment of their *leśyās* in the cosmographic regions in the universe must have been made in a similar way. This explains why the aforementioned '*tal-lesā devāvāsā*' in the *Bhagavatī* XIV.1.500 was evincing an idea that the upper world regions are expressed in terms of corresponding *leśyās* of the beings.

A *jīva's leśyā* may change during his lifetime. However the Jaina theoreticians created a rule that a *jīva* has to carry his last *leśyā* to his next *gati*. This makes automatically clear which *gati* A^5 with grey *leśyā*, for instance, has to take next. He has no alternative choice but take the form of H according to the rebirth chart of A^5M>H.G., because grey *leśyā* is absent in G. He is thus to be born next as H with grey *leśyā*, which also mechanically determines his next birth place in the *loka*, for the cosmographic regions are expressed in terms of the corresponding *leśyās* of the beings. Let us further see this rebirth rule of A^5M>H.G. in relation to the *leśyā* theory : A^5M (bk.b.g.)>H(bk.b.g.), A^5M(r.p.w.) >G(r.p.w.) [bk = black, b = blue, g = grey, r = red, p = pink, w = white]. Here A^5M(r.p.w.) cannot be born as H, and A^5M(bk.b.g.) cannot be born as G. We shall take up some other rebirth rules likewise at random. In case of H>A^5M, its relation with *leśyā* theory is as follows: H(bk.b.g.)>A^5M(bk b.g.). In case of A^5M>H.A.M.G.: A^5M(bk.b.g.) >H A.^{1} (F.W.ı)$^{2\cdot5}$ M(bk.b.g.), A^5M(bk.b.g.r.)>A^1 (E.Wa.P.) (bk.b.g.r.), A^5M (bk b.g r.p.w.)>A^5M (bk b.g.r.p.w.), and A^5M (r.p.w.)>A^5M.G. (r.p w). Here A^5M (r.p.w) cannot be born as H and A^1 (F.Wi.)$^{2-4}$, A^5M (bk.b.g.) cannot be born as G, and A^5M (p.w.) cannot be born as A^1 (E.Wa.P.). In case of A.M.G.>A^1 (E.Wa.P.); A^1 (E.Wa.P.)^5 M(bk.b.g ı.)>A^1 (E.Wa.P.)$^{2\cdot4}$ (bk.b.g.r.)>A^1 (F.Wı.)$^{2-4}$ (bk. b.g.) A^1, (E.Wa P.) (bk.b.g.), G (r.)>A^1 (E.Wa.P.) (r.). Here A.M.G. (p.w.) cannot be born as A^1 (E.Wa.P.),

We learn from these examples that the *leśyā* theory helps the rebirth chart to pin point more exactly the picture of the beings' mobility from one *gati* to the others in the universe. This may be considered as another role vested on the Jaina theory of *leśyā*. The underlying concept in the *leśyā* theory is therefore that grey *leśyā*, for instance, has the comparable degree of personality among the different forms of existence, i.e., H.M. and A. Thus by the time of the *Prajñāpanā*, the Jaina theoreticians were ready to assign to a being which *gati* he should take next on the basis of *gati nāma karma*, which precise place he should proceed next on the basis of *leśyā*, and what is the panoramic view of the mobility of the beings in the universe in the three tenses of time on the basis of the rebirth chart helped by the *leśyā* theory.

The original function assigned to *leśyā* is to determine a being's next place of birth in the *loka*. However this function can be easily forgotten once six *leśyās* are assigned to the beings and the rule of the transformation of *leśyās* during their lifetime is established, because their next birth places are automatically and mechanically known from their *leśyās* and *gati nāma karmas*. This can be likewise said about the additional role of *leśyā* in assisting the rebirth chart to pin point the more exact picture of the *jīvas* mobility in the universe. For this reason, the original function vested on *leśyā* sunk into oblivion, and the fundamental concept of *leśyā* as the personality-index of the beings came out on the front line. *Leśyā* thus came to be treated independently as an *anuyoga* item in the capacity of personality-index in the late canonical age, and talked about in relation to *kaṣāya*, *yoga*, etc. in the list of 14 *mārgaṇāsthānas* in the context of *karma* theory in the post-canonical age.

Leśyā was understood in terms of *karma leśyā* at the beginning stage of its evolution which stood for the later so-called *bhāva leśyā*. The *Prajñāpanā* XVII and the *Uttarādhyayana* XXXIV distinguish *bhāva leśyā* from *dravya leśyā* without employing these terms. These terms are currently used in the post-canonical texts. *Karma leśyā* came to be replaced by the concept of *bhāva leśyā* which then soon came to have its antithesical concept of *dravya leśyā*, because to assume the aspects of *bhāva* and *dravya* in a thing became an established viewpoint of the Jainas in the *Prajñāpanā* period onwards

This seems to be the main direction that the *leśyā* theory of the Jainas took in the later course of time We did not utilize the exhaustive materials of *leśyā* theory documented in the canonical literature, however the evolution and the main direction of the development of the Jaina theory of *leśyā* are hoped to be sufficiently clarified by this discussion.

References :

1 Tatia's forward to *Leśyākośa* by M. L Banthiya, p. 22.
2. Schubring : *Doctrine of the Jainas*, pp 195 ff.
3. Malvania, ed. : *Paṇṇavaṇāsuttam*, Pt. 2, p. 392, n. 16.
4. Glasenap : *The Doctrine of Karman*, p. 47, n. 2 ; Basham : *History and Doctrine of the Ājīvikas*, pp. 139, 244 ff.

Reference to the Existence of Jainism in Bengal in the Varman & Sena Inscriptions

CHITTA RANJAN PAL

Reference to the prevalence of Jainism in Bengal after the 7th Century A.D. either in the extant literature including that of the Jainas or in the epigraphs, is few and far between. So any post-Seventh Century literary and epigraphic reference to the Jainas, either direct or indirect, if met with, must be regarded as valuable document for the reconstruction of the history of Jainism of our province, which still lies veiled in obscurity.

That Jainism was a living religion in Bengal during the reign of the Pala Kings has been proved by citing suitable evidence from the *Dohakoṣā* of Saroja Vajra and its Commentary by Advaya Vajra who flourished in Bengal during the reign of the Pala Kings. It has been stated therein that the religion of the Arhantas or Jainism was one of the six popular religious orders of the then Bengal.[1] The same conclusion can be drawn from a perusal of the archaeological evidence in the shape of sculptures bearing the imprint of the Pala School of art, that have been explored in the Districts of Rajshahi, Dinajpur (Bangladesh), 24 Parganas, Bankura and Purulia (West Bengal).

Though the Pala Kings were professedly Buddhists, they were eclectic in their religious views. So the Jainas and other religious orders whether Vedic or non-Vedic were free to follow and preach their religious views in the Pala Kingdom. But a discordant note was first struck at the prevalent religious harmony, with the rise of the Varman dynasty who ruled over Eastern part of Bengal at the end of the Eleventh Century A.D.

Like the Senas, the Varman Kings were orthodox in their religious views and nourished ill-will in the heart of their hearts against the Jainas, Buddhists and other non-Vedic religious orders. The Belava Copperplate of Bhojavarman[2] makes it clear that Bhojavarman taunted and scoffed at the votaries of those religious sects who did not acknowledge the authority of the Vedas. It has been stated in the said inscription that the knowledge of the three Vedas is the real garment of men, in the absence of which men become naked.

[1] Vide *Jain Journal*, Vol. XIII. No. 2., October 1978, Page 66 ff.

[2] N. G. Mazumder, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III.

puṁsāṁāvaraṇaṁ trayī na ca tayā hīnā na nagnā itī[3]

Some Scholars think that the satire had a sting for the Buddhists.[4] But other scholars[5] had stated that the word *nagnā* commonly signified the Jaina monks. That the above-quoted line had been directed against the Jainas can be proved in a different way.

The above-mentioned Belava Copperplate records the grant of a piece of land in the village of Upyalika, belonging to Kausambi-Astagaccha Khandala situated in Paundravardhana Bhukti to the Brahmin-Priest of the King.[6] The word 'Astagaccha' reminds us of Ganas, Gachhas, Sakhas and Kulas into which the Jaina Sangha was ramified as is evident from some of the Mathura inscriptions of the Kusana period and *Kalpa Sūtra*, attributed to Bhadravahu. The administrative unit 'Astagaccha Khandala' was probably inhabited by some Jaina Community as the name indicates So the term *nagnā*, read with name 'Astagaccha Khandala' proves beyond doubt that the sarcastic phrase in the inscription was directed not against the Buddhists but against the Jainas.

The Bhubanesvar *Praśasti*[7] of Bhatta Bhavadeva, the minister of King Harivarman of the Varman dynasty gives a detailed account of the profound learning of the former in various branches of knowledge. In the afore-said *Praśasti*, Bhatta Bhavadeva has been described as the '*bauddhāmbhonidhi-kumbha-sambhava-munih*' or the sage Agastya to the ocean of Buddhistic doctrines and '*pasndi-vaitaṇdika-prajñā-khandana-paṇditah*'[8] or the expert in refuting the heretical dialecticians'. By the first phrase the composer scoffed at the Buddhists, but the second phrase was undoubtedly directed against the Jainas

After the downfall of the Pala dynasty, the Senas came to rule over Bengal and ultimately the Varmans of East Bengal were overthrown by them. According to some scholars[9] their rule in Bengal began at the last quarter of the Eleventh Century A.D. and came to a close at the beginning of the 13th Century A D when the dynasty was overthrown by Turkish invasion in West and North Bengal.

[3] Belava Copperplate, Verse 5.
[4] N N Dasgupta, *Banglay Bauddha Dharma.*
[5] R C Mitra, *Decline of Buddhism*
[6] Belava Copperplate, lines 27-29
[7] N. G. Mazumder, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III
[8] Bhuvanesvar Inscription, Verse 20
[9] R. C Mazumder, *History of Ancient Bengal.*

During the reign of the Palas who were devout Buddhists, the religion of the Buddhists as well as other non-Vedic religious cults flourished in Bengal. Consequently the ceremonial purity of the Brahmanical religion and of the Hindu society was gravely threatened. Vijaya Sena (c. 1095-1158), the architect of the Sena Kingdom in Bengal bewailed the state and condition into which the Brahmanical religion especially Saivism had fallen during the rule of the Palas. In the Deopara *Praśasti* of Vijaya Sena,[10] the poet Umapatidhara, composer of the *Praśasti*, who could play upon words, stated that the '*Dharma*' i e. the Brahmanical religion that previously was one-legged had been put on a solid foundation by his patron-King Vijaya Sena

aśrāntaviśrāṇita-yajña yūpa stambhābalim drāgavalambamānah
yasyānubhāvādbhubiśaścakāra kālakramādekapadopi dharmah

In another place of the same inscription, the poet Umapatidhara in eulogizing his patron-King Vijaya Sena stated that 'he gave garments of variegated colours to the naked Lord i.e. Siva, he granted beauty of hundred girls, with their bodies beautified by jewel-studded ornaments —to the husband of half of a lady."

uccitrāni diganivarasya vasanānyardhāṅganāsvamino
ratnālaṅkritibhirbbiśeṣitavapuh sobhāh śatam subhrubah[12]

It is interesting to note that the composer of the *Prāśasti*, Umapatidhara, in order to describe how his patron King Vijaya Sena uplifted the fallen fortune of the Saiva religion, which the King himself professed freely drew upon the similies and terms generally used by the Jainas.

The next King of the Sena dynasty, Vallala Sena (C. 1158-1179 A.D.)[13] was an orthodox follower of Saivism. He nourished a great dislike, nay hatred, against the followers of the non-Vedic religious sects and he did not consider it prudent to hide his feelings.

In the concluding portion of the *Dāna Sāgara*, the authorship of which is generally attributed to Vallala Sena, the King is proclaimed to have descended on this earth in the Kali age like Narayana to uproot the Nastikas.

[10] N. G Mazumder, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III.
[11] Deopara *Prasasti*, Verse 24.
[12] *Ibid.*, verse 30.
[13] R. C. Mazumder, *History of Ancient Bengal.*

dharmasyābhyudayāya nāstikapadocchedāyaya jāto kalau
śrīkāntopī sarasvati parivṛtah pratyakṣa nārāyaṇah

In the introductory chapter of the same book the author states that he had excluded the *Viṣṇu* and the *Siva purāṇa* from consultation because these books had been corrupted by the influence of the Pasandas. The same reason had been put forward elsewhere in the book for the exclusion of the *Devī purāṇa* from his compilation.

pāṣanda-śāstrānumataṁ nirūpya devipurāṇaṃ na nivaddhamatra

Now the question arises—who were these Nastikas and Pasandas? It seems that originally the two terms had different meanings and were coined to designate two different schools of religion and philosophy. Some commentators on Panini's grammar, *Aṣtādhyāyī*, explained the term Nastika as one who had no faith either in God or in the life after death. The philosophy of Ajita Kesakambalin and Purana Kassapa as described in the Buddhist *Sāmaññaphala Sutta* and the School of Carvaka having no faith in the existence of God and life after death had been termed by the Brahmanical writers and commentators as Nastika or atheist. On the other hand the Jainas and some other sects who believe in the life after death and *karmaphala*, had common ground for meeting with the Brahmanical Hindus who too have faith in the transmigration of the Soul and *karmaphala* along with the existence of the all-mighty God. So the Brahmanical writers and commentators of earlier times coined a pejorative word 'Pasanda' to distinguish the Jainas and the like sects from the Nastikas or Atheists. Incidentally it may be stated that the Buddhists who do not believe in the existence of the soul as well as God are more akin to the atheists or Nastikas than Jainas who believe in the existence of soul, though they have no faith in God Some scholars[14] are of opinion that the later Vaisnava writers of Eastern India used the term Pasanda to signify the followers of Buddhism. According to them Pasandas and the Buddhists were synonymous. But this proposition is not absolutely correct. Kabir (15th Century), the celebrated preacher of the 'Bhakti cult' in North India stigmatised the votaries of different Brahmanical sects as Pakhanda (i.e. Pasandas) in some of his *dohās*. The following lines are quoted here from one of his *dohās* by way of example :

harati bhūmi tṛṇa-saṁkula samujh pare nahe panthā
jim pākhanda (pāṣanda) bibadate lupta bhaye sadgranthā.

But it is more interesting to note that *Garuda Purāṇa* invokes Buddha as an incarnation of Visnu for the protection of the world from the

[14] N. N. Dasgupta, *Banglay Bauddha Dharma*

Pasandas.[15] Scholars have failed to determine the actual date of the composition of the said *Purāṇa*, but it seems that the *Purāṇa* got its present shape not earlier than 10th Century A.D. Jayadeva, the author of *Gita Govinda* who adorned the Court of Laksmana Sena eulogized Buddha as an incarnation of Visnu.[16] The *Padma Purāṇa* too eulogized Buddha in the same way and this *Purāṇa* was probably composed in the 12th century A.D. The above quoted examples go a long way to show that Lord Buddha as well as his followers were respected and not looked down upon by some sectarians of the Brahmanical religion during 10-12th Century A.D. Not only that, Lord Buddha was invoked to protect the world from the hands of the Pasandas as is evident from the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*.[17] So it would not be far wrong if we assume that by the term Pasanda, the Jainas, in most cases, were hinted at in the books of Hindu writers and inscription of the Hindu Kings of Bengal, that were composed in between 10th and 12th Century A.D.

After Vallala Sena, his son Laksmana Sena (Cir 1158-1205 A.D.)[18] came to occupy the throne of Bengal. He was more accomodating and liberal in his religious persuation than his bigoted father. His court was adorned by some scholars and poets who are well-known for their liberal religious views. Like his father Vallala Sena, Laksmana Sena was an active promoter of Brahmanical religion. In his Tarpandighi Copperplate[19] Laksmana Sena granted a piece of land to a Brahmin, the boundary of which land was delimited on the east by a "buddha vihare devata". In other words, it may be said that Laksmana Sena granted land to the said Brahmin on the very border of a pre-existing Buddhist monastery.

There is another record that Laksmana Sena granted land to another Brahmin on the very border of another temple. The Govindapur Copperplate[20] states that Laksmana Sena donated a piece of land in the village of Viddarasasana in Vetadda-Caturaka in Pascima Khatika belonging to Vardhamana-bhukti. That piece of land in the village, Viddarasasana was delimited by the river Ganges serving as half-boundary to the east, by the temple of Lingadeva to the south (*dakṣine linga-deva-maṇḍapi sīmā*) by orchard of Pomegranates to the west and the village of Dharmanagara to the north.

[15] *Garuda Purana* (I. 202).
[16] *Gita Govinda*, Dasavatar-stotra.
[17] *Garuda Purana*, (I. 202).
[18] R. C. Mazumder, *History of Ancient Bengal*,
[19] N. G. Mazumder, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III.
[20] *Ibid.*

Sri Kalidas Datta, who made extensive exploratory tours in South 24-Parganas, especially Sunderbans in Bengal during the 3rd decade of the present century identified Dharmanagara and Viddarasasana with present Dhamnagar[21] and Sasan[22] in 24 Parganas respectively. Betadda, the headquarters of the Caturaka has been identified with Betor near Sibpore, opposite to Calcutta.[23]

Now the question arises what is the *Linga-deva-mandapī*. *Maṇḍapa* means temple or roofed enclosure for the assemblage of deveotees. So *Linga-deva-maṇḍapī* means a temple of the Linga deva or roofed enclosure for the assemblage of the devotees of the Linga deva. But who is the Linga deva? Linga deva in this context cannot be a phallus or a Siva-Linga. The word "Linga-deva" in the aforementioned Inscription had been used probably to mean a god who was sky-clad or naked. The word "Linga" is the archaic form of Langa or Nanga (in Hindi) and Lyangta or Nyangta (in Bengali), meaning thereby "naked".

In the Hindu pantheon all god and goddesses are draped in celestial attire except the phallic symbol of Siva. So the said "Linga-deva" has a possibility of being identified with phallic form of Siva But it is to be kept in mind that Siva being the family deity of the Sena Kings as is evident from the Sadasiva seal affixed to the charters, cannot be derisively termed as "Linga deva". It is further to be noted that at the out-set of the *Praśasti* or eulogy. the composer had written some beautiful *ślokas* in adoration of Siva So by, the word "Linga deva", the composer of the *Praśasti* did not mean the Hindu god Siva. the family diety of the Sena Kings, but some other deity or deities marked for nakedness. So the conclusion becomes inevitable that the Linga deva of the Govindapur Inscription was a Jaina Tirthankara or some Jaina Tirthankaras who was or were housed in the said *mandapa*

In this connection it is to be mentioned that Sri Kalidas Datta discovered an image of the Penultimate Tirthankar of the Jainas in 1929 in Daksin Barasat in the Sundarbans in West Bengal.[24] This image of Lord Parsvanatha is made of stone and is much weathered. The find spot of this image is not far from the find-spot of the Govindapur Inscription of Laksana Sena The discovery of the image of Parsvanatha in Daksin

[21] K. Datta, *Antiquities of Khari*, Varendra Research Society's *Monograph*.
[22] *Ibid.*
[23] N G. Mazumder, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III; R. D Banerjee, *Banglar Itihas* Vol I. p. 33
[24] K. Datta, Varendra Research Society's *Monograph*.

Barasat indicates the prevalence of the faith in this part. This probably dates from the time of Hiuen-Tsang, the Chinese Buddhist traveller[25] who came to India in the 7th Century A.D. and who came across a large number of Nirgranthas (i.e. Jainas) in Samatata. N. G. Mazumder is of opinion that Samatata was a part of Sunderban during the reign of the Senas.[26]

Without going into the controversy whether or not Laksmana Sena donated lands to two orthodox Brahmins on the boundary of pre-existing Buddhist and Jaina temples with a view to harassing the Buddhist and Jaina followers, it can be said with certitude that the Govindapur Inscription bears an important evidence of the existence of Jainism in Sundarbans in the 12th Century A.D.

All the above-mentioned references to the Jainas, however, cryptic or ambiguous they may prove beyond doubt that Jainism did not crumble to ruin at the rise of the aggressive Mahayana and Tantrayana Buddhism during the rule of the Pala Kings in Bengal. Nor was Jainism washed away by the rising tide of resurgent Brahmanical Hinduism that was nourished by the Varmau and Sena Kings who ruled in Bengal during the 11th and 12th Century A.D.

But it must be acknowledged that the votaries of Parsvanatha and Mahavira experienced increasing difficulties in maintaining their hold which their monks had once built up in Bengal unaided by any royal house that flourished in historical times.

[25] Watters, Vol. II, p. 187.

[26] N G. Mazumder, *Inscriptions of Bengal*, Vol. III

The Svetambara and the Digambara Images of the Jinas

RAMAPRASAD CHANDA

The Jainas are divided into two great sects : the Svetambaras who follow monks clad in white and the Digambaras who follow monks who are sky-clad or naked. As the twentyfour Jinas, 'conquerors', or Tirthankaras, 'makers of ford for crossing the stream of rebirths', worshipped by the Jainas were monks, their images intended for the worship of the Digambaras must be naked and those of the Svetambaras must be draped. But there are evidences to show that the sectarian differentiation of the images of the Jinas took place long after the great schism in the Jaina community. The schism itself was also due to a variety of causes operating for a long period of time. In the *Uttarādhyavana*, a Svetambara text (Section XXIII), a Sramana named Kesi belonging to the older Jaina order founded by Parsva asks Indrabhuti (Gautama), the senior disciple of Vardhamana :

"The law which forbids clothes (for a monk), or that which (allows) an upper and under garment—both pursuing the same end what has caused their difference?"(13)

The same question is repeated in a more definite form in another stanza (29) of the same chapter of the *Uttarādhyayana* :

"The Law taught by Vardhamana forbids clothes *(acelago dhammo)*, but that of the great sage Parsva allows an under garment."[1]

These passages indicate that the distinction between the naked Jaina monks and the monks wearing an upper and an under garment like the Svetambara monks of our day is as old as the time of Mahavira. But this distinction did not lead to a serious schism in the Jaina community till nearly six hundred years later. The Svetambara story of the rise of the Digambara sect is told in the *Avassakanijjutti* by Bhadrabahu, in the *Pravacana-parīkṣā* or *Kupakṣa-kauśikasahasrakirana* by Dharmasagara,[2] in the commentary on the *Kalpasūtra* by Samayasundaropadhyaya[3] and in other works. These authorities agree in stating that the Botika or Digambara order of Jaina monks was started 609 years after the

[1] Jacobi, *Jaina Sutras (Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLV), Part II, p. 123.

[2] Bhandarkar, *Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay Presidency during the year* 1883-84, p. 146.

[3] *Ibid*, p. 140.

nirvāṇa of Mahavira or in 82 A.D. by one Sivabhuti at Rathavirapura. A Digambara writer named Devasena states in his *Darśanasāra* (written in samvat 990 = A.D. 933)[4] that the Svetambara order was started by Jinacandra at Valabhi in Saurashtra (Kathiawar) 136 years after the death of King Vikrama, that is to say, in A.D. 79. Though the stories relating to the origin of the schism told by the writers of the two sects differ widely, their substantial agreement regarding the date is very remarkable and appears to be based on genuine tradition. The *Āvassakanijjutti* which gives the date and the names of persons and places but not the Svetambara story of the origin of the schism is an old work[5] and may be relied on for the date. According to some modern European scholars the difference that ultimately led to the schism first appeared when in the second century after the *nirvāṇa* of Mahavira (a few years before the death of Bhadrabahu which took place 170 years after the death of Mahavira) a famine broke out in Magadha which forced a considerable number of Jaina monks to migrate to the south. In their absence a council was held at Pataliputra that fixed the text of the 12 *Aṅgas* of the Jaina canon. When the exiles returned they not only refused to recognise the canon fixed by the Council of Pataliputra, but were dissatisfied with the relaxation of discipline among the brethren who had remained in Magadha.[6] Such a combination of the Svetambara and Digambara traditions is hardly justifiable. The earliest Svetambara list of the Sthaviras who succeeded Mahavira is given in the *Therāvali* section of the *Kalpasūtra* of Bhadrabahu and the earliest Digambara list is given in Gunabhadra's *Uttarapurāṇa*, Book 76 (515-52)5. I give the two lists side by side :

Kalpasūtra		*Uttarapurāṇa*
1. Mahavira		1. Mahavira
2. Sudharaman		2. Sudharman
3. Jambu		3. Jambu
4. Prabhava		4. Nandimuni
5. Sayyambhava		5. Nandimitra
6. Yasobhadra		6. Aparajita
		7. Govardhana
		8. Bhadrabahu
7. Sambhutavijaya	Bhadrabahu	

[4] Peterson's *Fourth Report of Operations in Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Bombay circle*, p. lvi.
[5] Weber, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XX, pp 330-331.
[6] Hoernle, *Uvasagdasao*, Vol. II, pp viii-ix; Jarl Charpentier, *Cambridge History of India*, Vol I, p 165.

The first eight names of the Digambara *Pattāvalī* published by Hoernle agree with the *Uttarapurāṇa* list with one exception : in the former No. 4, Nandimuni, is called Visnukumara.[7] A comparison of these two lists makes it clear that the separation originated after the death of Jambu, the last Kevalin, and that the Bhadrabahus of the two lists are not identical. The scene of action of the Sruta-kevalin Bhadrabahu of the Svetambaras was Pataliputra and he is said to have retired to Nepal,[8] whereas the scene of action of the Sruta-kevalin Bhadrabahu of the Digambaras was Ujjayini and he is said to have retired to the south.[9] Wearing white cloth by the monks is not the only point of difference between the two sects, though the names Svetambara and Digambara indicate that this is the main point. The other points in which the Digambaras could not agree with the Svetambaras (*Darśanasāra*, 13-14) are :

(1) Salvation of woman in her birth as woman and her right of admission to the order.
(2) Taking food by a kevalin and his liability to fall ill.
(3) The story of the transfer of the embryo of Mahavira from the womb of the Brahman woman Devananda to that of the Ksatriya woman Trisala
(4) Salvation of those who put on emblems of non-Jaina sects.
(5) Eating clean food wherever available.

Such points of difference could hardly have originated and hardened into dogmas in a year or even in a generation or two to constitute an insurmountable barrier between the two sections of a religious community, but the process must have required centuries The stories told in the *Bhadrabāhucarita* of Ratnanandin, a late Digambara work, lend indirect support to such an assumption relating to the growth of the schism.[10] One of the stories runs thus : In the time of the fifth Sruta-kevalin Bhadrabahu, when Candragupti (not Candraputa) was the king of Ujjain (Ujjaini), the capital of Malava, there was a great famine in Malava that lasted for 12 years. Bhadrabahu, who happened to be at Ujjain with a large body of monks, foresaw the famine and migrated to the south with one group of his followers. He died on the way and his followers led by Visakhacarya proceeded to the Cola country. The customs of the monks who stayed at Ujjain underwent a good deal of change during the famine. When, after the famine was over, and Visakhacarya returned

[7] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol II (Revised Edition), Introduction, pp. 36-40
[8] Hemacandra, *Parisistaparvan*, pp ix, 55-103
[9] *Indian Antiquary*, Vol XX, p. 347.
[10] *Bhadrabahucarita* by Ratnanandin, edited by H Jacobi, *Z.D.M.G.*, Vol. XXXVIII, 1884, pp. 19-41

to Ujjain, the monks of Ujjain refused to revert to the older and more austere practices and came to be known as Ardha-phalakas, 'half-clad monks', because they used to throw a piece of cloth over their shoulders. "When a long period of time had thus elapsed there flourished at Ujjain a king, named Candrakirti who resembled the moon" (IV, 33). King Candrakirti had a daughter named Candralekha who studied the sacred books of the false Munis (Ardha-phalakas). She was married to Prajapala, son of the king of Valabhi. When Prajapala succeeded to the throne of Valabhi, queen Candralekha persuaded him to invite Ardha-phalaka monks from Ujjain. When these monks headed by Jinacandra approached the city, the king came out to welcome them with his vassals, ministers and citizens. But the king and the people of Valabhi were surprised to see monks who, though naked (without any kind of loin cloth), had cloth on their bodies (*nagna-vastrena-saṁvṛta*) and so returned to the city without greeting them. When the queen came to know of this she sent white cloths to the monks which they had to put on at her request and were consequently properly received by the king. Thus arose the order of the Svetambara or white-clad monks.[11] According to Ratnanandin this event happened 136 years after the death of king Vikrama (A.D 79)

These tales are probably of as little historical value as others of this type told by earlier writers. But they indicate that though the difference between the two sections of the Jaina monks was a long standing one, it did not lead to a definite schism—to the final separation, till the last quarter of the first century A.D.

In a sculptured panel unearthed by Fuhrer from the Kankali Tila at Muttra in the working season of 1890-91 we see the representation of a monk who may be designated an Ardha-phalaka. A drawing of the panel is reproduced by Vincent Smith in the *Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathura*, Plate XVII, fig. 2 According to Vincent Smith the votive inscription on this panel is dated in the year 95 (?). The most interesting figure in the lower compartment of the panel is that of an evidently naked ascetic holding up a *rajoharana* or brush in the right hand. A piece of cloth is thrown over his left lower arm held in front of and screening the male organ. An inscription to the right of the head of the ascetic gives his name as Kana samana, 'Krsna the ascetic'. This figure probably represents an intermediate, the so-called Ardha-phalaka, stage in the development of the white-clad ascetic.

[11] *dhrtani svetavasamsi tad-dinat samajayata svetambaramatam khyatam tatorddhaphalakamatat,—Bhadrabahucarita,* IV, 54.



In none of the accounts of the separation of the Digambaras and the Svetambaras that I know, are the differences in the type of the images of the Jinas (whether naked or draped) included among the points of difference that led to the schism. The earliest known images of the Tirthankaras have been found at Mathura. Most of them bear votive inscriptions ranging in date from the year 4 to the year 98 of the reign of the Kushan emperors Kanishka, Huvishka and Vasudeva roughly corresponding to A D. 82 to 176. The standing images of this group are all naked and show the male organ. The seated images also bear no marks of drapery, but as the hands touch the abdomen, they do not show the male organ The inscriptions on these images leave no room for doubt that in the Kushan period the Svetambaras or their precursors be-



the palms of the hands (Vincent Smith's *Jaina Stūpa*, Plates XCV and XCIV). The first (J-143), as the coil of the serpent behind the torso shows, is an image of the twenty third Jina Parsva. On the base of this image is engraved the following inscription :

1. *samvat 1038 kāttika śukla ekādasyā[m]śri-śvetambara-māthura-samghen apaścima-catuṣki-kāyām śrī devanirmmita*
2. *pratimā pratisṭhāpitā*

longing to Ganas, Sakhas and Kulas mentioned in the Svetambara work, the *Kalpasutra*,[12] from which the modern Svetambara monks trace their spiritual descent, worshipped naked images. There are also evidences to indicate that the same practice continued at least up to the eleventh century A.D. In December 1889 Fuhrer found in the Kankali Tila at Mathura two colossal seated Jina images now preserved in the Lucknow Provincial Museum, J-143 and J-145. Both these images are undraped, but in both the male organ is hidden by



[12] Buhler, "On the Authenticity of the Jain Tradition", *Vienna Oriental Journal*, Vol. 1, pp. 165-180; "Further Proofs of the Authenticity of Jaina Tradition", *Ibid.* Vol. II, pp. 141-146; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, pp. 233-240; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, pp. 313-331.

"In Samvat 1038, on the 11th day of the bright half of Kartika, this image made by Sri Deva was consecrated by the Svetambara community of Mathura in the western hall resting on four pillars."

The inscription on the base of the second Jina image (J-145) runs :

1. *om samvat 1134 śrī-svetāmbara-śrī-māthurā-saṃgha-śri-deva*
2. *nirmita pratimā kāri[ta]*

"This image made by Sri-Deva was caused to be made by the glorious Svetambara community of Mathura in Samvat 1134 (A.D. 1077)."

In the later mediaeval period, alongside of the naked seated Jina images that do not actually show the male organ, we occasionally come across two other types of seated Jina images. In one of these types space is left between the abdomen and the hands rendering the carving of the male organ possible, and in the other, though the thighs or legs bear no mark of drapery, the *añcalikā* or the border of the loin cloth is engraved on the lotus throne.

The systematic sectarian differentiation of the Jaina images began much later. In some later Svetambara works a story is related in connection with the origin of this differentiation Ratnamandiragaṇin (who wrote his *Bhoja-prabandha* in Samvat 1537, 1480-81 A.D.) writes in his *Upadeśataraṅgiṇi*,[13] Chapter IV, that at one time the Girnar hill (Girinagara, Raivata or Ujjayanta in Kathiawar) was in possession of the Digambaras for a period of 50 years. Dharaka, a Svetambara residing at Gomandalagrama in Surashtra, then went on pilgrimage to Girnar with his seven sons and 700 warriors There ensued a fight between him and the troops of Khangara, the keeper of the Girnar fort, in which Dharaka's seven sons and all his soldiers were killed. Dharaka proceeded to Gopagiri (Gwalior) and complained to king Ama and his spiritual guide Bappabhattasuri. Ama proceeded to Girnar with a large army. Then there was a debate over the question of the possession of Girnar between the Svetambaras and the Digambaras which continued for a month. Ultimately the gooddess Ambika settled the dispute by reciting the stanza, *ujjantaselasihare*, etc., 'on the peak of the hill Ujjanta' and the parties agreed henceforward to differentiate their images,—the Digambaras by showing the male organ and the Svetambaras by engraving the *añcalikā* or the border of the cloth. This differentiation relates mainly to images of the Tirthankaras seated in meditation.

[13] *Upadeśataraṅgiṇi* by Ratnamandiragaṇin, Benares, Vira Samvat 2437.

The story of the dispute over the Girnar hill is repeated in the *Kupakṣa-kauśikasahasrakiraṇa* or *Pravacanaparīkṣā* written by Dharmasagara in Samvat 1629 (1572-73 A.D.). The work consists of Prakrit stanzas with a sanskrit commentary by the author himself.[14] In Chapter II (stanzas 65-67) the dispute over the Girnar or Ujjanta hill is briefly described. In this account Dharaka, Ama and Bappabhatta find no place. It is simply related that when there was a dispute between the Svetambaras and the Digambaras over the possession of Girnar, Sasanadevi or the goddess presiding over the Jaina law decided that those who (i.e., the Svetambaras) believed that women might attain salvation were entitled to the possession of the holy place. It is added that in the court of the king (who is not named) the goddess announced her decision through the mouth of a maiden brought from a distant country who uttered two stanzas. In the first stanza is invoked Vardhamana (Mahavira) who is called the saviour of both men and women, and the second stanza is the one also referred to by the author of the *Upadeśataraṅginī* and runs thus :

ujjhanta-sela-sihare dikkhā nānam nisihiya jassa
tam dhamma-cakkavattim ariṭṭhanemim namamsāmi

"Adoration to Aristanemi, the law giver of the universe, who received initiation and attained perfect knowledge on the peak of the Ujjhanta (Girnar) hill."

After the announcement of the decision, the disappointed Digambara monks returned to their place of residence (66). In order to avoid disputes with the Digambaras in future the Sri-Sangha (the Svetambaras) began to engrave the *pallava* or the border of the loin cloth below the feet of new images (67). Enraged at this the Digambaras also made images showing the male organ (68). The representation of the *añcala* is absent from old images made by Samprati and others, but it is present in modern images made after the dispute relating to Girnar (69) Before the dispute there was no difference in form between the images of the Svetambaras and the Digambaras (70).

According to Svetambara tradition Ama and Bappabhatta flourished in the eighth century A.D. and the name Khangara was borne by one of

[14] These notes from the *Pravacanaparikṣa* are derived from a manuscript of the work borrowed from the Del Bhandar, Ahmadabad, through Mr. Puran Chand Nahar of Calcutta.

the chiefs of the Yadava dynasty which for long held the Girnar hill fort.[15] As already stated, the author of the *Kupakṣa-kauśkasahasra-kirana* neither names these persons nor furnishes us with any other indications of the date of the dispute. Of one thing, however, we may be quite sure. By the time that the author of the *Upadeśataragini* flourished, that is to say, the second half of the 15th century A.D., the making of two different types of seated Jina images by the two different sects must have been an established practice. The dated Jina images examined by me at Rajgir and Patna support such an assumption. The dispute over the Girnar hill probably occurred some time before.

[15] Burgess and Cousens, *Revised List of Antiquarian Remains in the Bombay Presidency*, Bombay, 1897, pp. 348 and 361.

Length Units in Jaina Astronomy

SAJJAN SINGH LISHK AND S. D. SHARMA

The article renders a simple probe into the diversity of length-units in ancient Indian astronomy and particularly elucidates the role of three different systems of measures of length as depicted in the Jaina canonical texts of post-Vedanga pre-Siddhantic period in the history of ancient Indian astronomy. It unveils the complexity of the relation between a *yojana* and the British miles also.

Introduction

In ancient China, many astronomical changes were accorded with the advent of any new regime.[1]

The Length units had also undergone no less a multitude of alterations every where in ancient times and it took many centuries before they were evolved to the level of universal standardization. For instance, king Henry I of England decided that the standard yard should be the length of his arm but in the reign of Edward II, a new law said that one inch should be the length of three grains of barley, end to end.[2] In India, Humayun had ordered the length of a yard to be equal to the sum of the diameters of 42 Sikandari coins or 42 finger-widths Akbar settled his *Ilahi gaz* (divine yard) for 41 finger widths which worked out to be 29.63 inches, but with the advent of British influence over India, the *Ilahi gaz* was fixed at 33 inches.[3] However, the old Scotch mile was 1.127 and the old Irish mile was 1.273 times the length of the present British mile [4] It was not until 1878 when the exact length of a yard, 1760 yards making a mile, was finally fixed.[2] Likewise a cubit measured different lengths in different nations,[3] e.g.

Egyptian Royal Cubit	= 20.63 inches
Greek Olympic Cubit (25 digits)	= 18.23 inches
Sumerian Cubit	= 19.50 inches

In ancient India, there was a great diversity of measures of length. The variations in the lengths of the Indian *kośa* must have puzzled the Chinese pilgrims and perhaps as Cunningham[5] remarks that that is why

Fa-hien (399-413 A.D.) used the Indian measure *yojana* while Hiuen-Tsang (629-645 A.D.) used his native measure *Li* Here an attempt is made to unearth as to how the magnitude of a *yojana* varied at several places in course of time. It is highlighted that the three different systems of measures of length as depicted in the Jaina Canonical literature plays a vehement role in understanding the relationship between a *yojana* and the British miles.

Theory

1. *Aṅgula* (finger width) was the fundamental unit of length in ancient India, and multiple and sub-multiple units were derived from it. The earliest use of an *angula* seems to have been made in *Atharva Veda Jyotiṣa* where the shadow lengths of a *śaṅku* (gnomon) have been recorded after every *muhūrta* in integral *aṅgulas*[6] However, the first record of three different magnitudes of an *angula* is found in *Anuyogadvāra Sūtra*[7] (= *ADS*), a Jaina canonical text of post-Vedanga pre-Siddhantic period in the history of ancient Indian astronomy *ADS* 149 12 states :[8]

"There are three kinds of an *angula*, viz. *atmāṅgula*, *utsedhāṅgula*, (and) *pramānāṅgula*"

A linear measurement of an *angula* is called *sucyāṅgula* except in case of *pramānāṅgula*, where it is termed as *srenyangula*. *Pratārāngula* and *ghanāṅgula* denote a square *aṅgula* and a cubic *aṅgula* respectively The linear measures of an *angula* have been defined as below :

1. *Ātmāngula* : *ADS* 149 13 1: states as ,[9]

   "Twelve *aṅgulas* of a person make one's face-length, nine times the face-length equals the length of *puruṣa* (the person)"
   So the finger-breadth of a person is called an *Ātmāngula*

2. *Utsedhāṅgula* . *ADS* 149.23 states :[10]

"Every great emperor possesses a *kākanıratna* of 8 *souvarṇikas* (weight-measures), of the size of a cube having six surfaces, twelve edges and eight diagonals Every side of it is one *utsedhāṅgula* long. It is equal to half the length of Lord Mahavira One thousand times of it is (the length of) one *pramāṇāṅgula* "

However, the *utsedhāṅgula* is also defined in terms of its sub-multiples. *ADS*. 149.23 states :[11]

Table No. 1. (ADS Units)

Infinite *paramāṇu-pudgalas* make 1 *ussaṇhasaṇihaya*

8 *ussa.* units	make	1 *saṇhasaṇihaya*
8 *saṇha.* ,,	make	1 *urdhvareṇu*
8 *urdh.* ,,	make	1 *trasareṇu*
8 *trasa* ,,	make	1 *ratharenu*
8 *ratha.* ,,	make	1 *devakuru bālāgra* (hair's point)
8 *deva. bālāgras*	make	1 *harivarṣa bālāgra*
8 *hari. bālāgras*	make	1 *hemvat bālāgra*
8 *hem. bālāgras*	make	1 *videhakṣetraja bālāgra*
8 *videha bālāgras*	make	1 *bharatakṣetraja bālāgra*
8 *bharata bālāgras*	make	1 *likṣa* (*likh* or mini louse)
8 *likṣas*	make	1 *yūka* (*louse*)
8 *yūkas*	make	1 *yavamadhya*
8 *yavamadhyas*	make	1 *utsedhāngula*

3. *Pramāṇāṅgula* · The length of one *pramāṇāṅgula* is one thousand times the length of an *utsedhāṅgula*, as depicted above. The various *aṅgulas* are therefore inter-related as follows :

1 *utsedhāṅgula*	= ½ *ātmāṅgula*
1 *pramāṇāṅgula*	= 1000 *utsedhāṅgula*
1 *pramāṇāngula*	= 500 *ātmāngulas* = 1000 *utsedhāṅgulas*. — (1)

This reflects upon the existence of three different systems of measurement of length, which may be called as :

1. *ātma* system
2. *utsedha* system
3. *pramāṇa* system.

These three systems had the same nomenclature of units, and in each case the practical unit was a *yojana* (= *y*), and its relation with an *aṅgula* is given in the following table.[12]

Table No. 2 (ADS Units)

6 *aṅgulas*	= 1 *pāda*
2 *pādas*	= 1 *vitasti* (span)
2 *vitasti*	= 1 *ratni*
2 *ratnis*	= 1 *kukṣi*
3 *kukṣis*	= 1 *dhanuṣa*
2000 *dhanuṣas*	= 1 *gavyūti*
4 *gavyūti*	= 1 *yojana*

1 *yojana* = 768000 *angulas* — (2)

Thus using the equation No. 1, it may be seen that the following relation between the three different magnitudes of the same unit holds good

1 *pramāna* unit = 500 *ātma* unit = 1000 *utsedha* unit — (3)

In particular,

1 *pramāṇa yojana* = 500 *ātma yojana* = 1000 *utsedha yojana* — (4)

Now a recourse may be made to some other works also which contain some account of linear measures of length. According to *Tiloya Paṇṇatti* (= *TP*) of Jadivrsabha (Yativrsabha), units of length (*TP* I 93-132)[9] are shown in the table as below :

TABLE No. 3 (TP Units)

Infinitely many *paramāṇus*	= 1 *avasannāsanna skandha*
8 *avasa.* units	= 1 *sannāsanna skandha*
8 *sannāsannas*	= 1 *truṭareṇu*
8 *truṭareṇus*	= 1 *trasareṇu*
8 *trasareṇus*	= 1 *rathareṇu*
8 *rathareṇus*	= 1 *uttama bhogabhūmi bālāgra*
8 *ut. bho. bālāgra*	= 1 *madhyama bhogabhūmi bālāgra*
8 *ma. bho. bālāgra*	= 1 *jaghanya bhogabhūmi balāgra*
8 *ja. bho. bālāgra*	= 1 *karma bhūmi bālāgra*
8 *ka. bālāgras*	= 1 *likṣa*
8 *likṣas*	= 1 *yūka*
8 *yūkas*	= 1 *yava* (*barley corn*)
8 *yavas*	= 1 *angula*
6 *angulas*	= 1 *pada*
2 *pādas*	= 1 *vitasti*
2 *vitastis*	= 1 *hasta* (forearm or cubit)
2 *hastas*	= 1 *rikku* (or *kisku*)
2 *kiṣkus*	= 1 *danda* (staff) or *dhanuṣa*
2000 *daṇdas*	= 1 *krośa*
4 *krośas*	= 1 *yojana*

A typical table of linear measures, according to Paulisa Siddhanta (= *PS*)[10] is given as below :

Table No. 4 (PS Units)

8 *yavas*	= 1 *angula*
24 *angulas*	= 1 *hasta*
4 *hastas*	= 1 *danda*
2000 *dandas*	= 1 *kośa*
4 *kosas*	= 1 *yojana*

The Aryan system of measurements of Siddhantic units as used by Sripati etc., according to Gopala Bhatta, is shown in a typical table as reproduced below :[9]

Table No. 5 (Siddhantic Units)

8 *trasarenus*	= 1 *renu*
8 *renus*	= 1 *bālāgra*
8 *bālāgras*	= 1 *likṣa* or poppy-seed
8 *likṣas*	= *yūka*
8 *yukas*	= 1 *yava* (barley-corn)
8 *yavas*	= 1 *angula*
12 *angulas*	= 1 *vitasti*
2 *vitastis*	= 1 *hasta*
4 *hastas*	= 1 *danda*
2000 *dandas*	= 1 *kośa*
4 *kośas*	= 1 *yojana*

It can be easily seen that a *yojana* contains 768000 *angulas* and an *angula* contains 8 *yavas* in all the cases. But on the other hand we have,

1 *angula* = 8^{10} *trasarenus* (= t_1) (See Table No 1 *ADS* units)
= 8^9 *trasarenus* (= t_2) (See Table No. 3 *TP* units)
= 8^6 *trasarenus* (= t_3) (See Table No 5 Aryan units)

Evidently, the length of a *yojana* remains constant only if :

$$8^{10}t_1 = 8^9t_2 = 8^6t_3$$

i.e. $$t_1 : t_2 : t_3 = 1 : 8 : 8^4$$

The length of a *trasareṇu* has three different magnitudes But if the length of a *trasareṇu* be taken as constant, i e.

$$t_1 = t_2 = t_3,$$

and a *yojana* be denoted by y_1 (*ADS* units), y_2 (*TP* units) or y_3 (Aryan units), we have

$$y_1 : y_2 : y_3 = 8^4 : 8^3 : 1$$
$$y_1 = 8y_2 \qquad — (5)$$

i.e y_1 is eight times y_2

Still a different account of units of length is described in *Lalitavistara*, a Buddhistic work A typical table is reproduced as below :[15]

Table No. 6 (Buddhistic Units)

7 *paramāṇu-rajas*		1 *reṇu*
7 *reṇus*		1 *truṭi*
7 *truṭis*	=	1 *vātāyana-raja*
7 *vātāyana-rajas*		1 *śaśa-raja*
7 *śaśa-rajas*	=	1 *aiḍaka-raja*
7 *aiḍaka-rajas*		*go-raja*
7 *go-rajas*		1 *likṣa-raja*
7 *likṣa-rajas*	=	*yava*
7 *yavas*		*aṅgulī-parva*
12 *aṅgulī-parva*	=	1 *vitasti*
2 *vitastis*	=	1 *hasta*
4 *hastas*	=	1 *dhanuṣa*
1000 *dhanuṣas*	=	*kośa*
4 *kośas*		1 *yojana*

Thus we find on comparison with Jaina units of length that a Buddhistic *kośa* contains 1000 *dhanuṣas* instead of 2000 *dhanuṣas*, and a Buddhistic *aṅgula* contains 7 *yavas* instead of 8 *yavas* Thus we have,

	1 Buddhistic *yojana*	$= 384000 \times 7$ *yavas*	
whereas	1 Jaina *yojana*	$= 768000 \times 8$ *yavas*	
$\therefore$	1 Buddhistic *yojana*	$= \frac{7}{16}$ Jaina *yojana*	— (6)

But, on the other hand, it also appears convincing that 1000 *dhanuṣ* make a Buddhistic *kośa* actually denoting a half-*kośa*, just as the modern

trigonometric sine actually denotes Indian half-sine. Then the relation (6) reduces to :

1 Buddhistic *yojana* = $\frac{7}{8}$ Jaina *yojana* (*ADS* units, say) — (7)
Using relation (5), we have,
1 Buddhistic *yojana* = 7 *yojanas* (*TP* units). — (8)

Now an altogether different account of linear-measures of length as described by Megasthenes (302-293 B.C.) may also be reproduced as below :[10]

Table No. 7 (Units as reported by Megasthenes)

24 *angulas*	= 1 *hasta*
4 *hastas*	= *dhanuṣa*
100 *dhanuṣas*	= 1 *nalwa*
10 *nalwas*	= 1 *kośa*

It may be easily computed that

	1 *kośa*	= 96000 *angulas*
and	1 *dhanuṣa*	= 96 *angulas*

But according to Strabo,[4] it may be that 100 *angulas*, instead of 96 *angulas*, make a *dhanuṣa* to preserve centenary scale. But as we find that,

$$1 \textit{ kośa} = 96000 \textit{ angulas} \text{ or } \frac{768000}{8} \textit{ angulas}$$

or 8 *kośas* = 768000 *angulas*
= 1 *yojana*-length in *angulas* (See equation No 2).

So 8 *kośas* of 96000 *angulas* each make a *yojana* of popular length in *angulas*. Such an integral relationship between the number of *kośas* and a *yojana* does no longer hold good if a *dhanuṣa* contains 100 *angulas*, instead of 96 *angulas*. Thus Strabo's views are not justified. Srinivas Iengar[15] takes one *dhanuṣa* to be equal to 100 *angulas* while calculating the circumference of Jambudvipa, but R. C. Gupta[17] has refuted his claim justifying the use of 96 *angulas* in a *dhanuṣa*. However, it would not be out of question to mention here that the same confusion of numbers 96 and 100 also exists in the monetary scale in which we have 2 *bārāganīs* or twelvers equal to 1 *pañcī* or twenty-fiver.[4] So one cannot deny the fact that some sort of cenenary scale remained in vogue in ancient India. A similar fundamental idea of a metric system, unifying weights, measures

and volumes, also appeared in China as far back as the time of T'aichu calendar reform (104 B.C.).[1] Therefore it may be an elementary step towards the departure from the traditional scale and its remodelling was tried upto certain extents as far as permissible under the prevailing set up of practical units of length.

2. It is quite evident that the fluctuation in the number of British miles in a *yojana* is proportionate to the same in the magnitude of the later. However, many an opinion has been advocated so far regarding the number of British miles in a *yojana*. According to Dvivedi,[14] if a *yojana* actually denoted half a *yojana*, contains 5 miles, the diameter of the earth as enunciated by Brahmagupta and Bhaskaracarya comes out to be 7905 miles which is almost the same as the actual one i.e. about 8000 miles. Thus an actual *yojana* contains 10 miles. On the other hand, Dvivedi[14] holds an opinion that a *kośa* contains 2 miles, therefore a *yojana* contains 8 miles Alberuni also considers a *yojana* to be equal to 8 miles.[18] The distinct values of *kośa* now in use in India are also worth mentioning here The Padasahi *kośa* or Punjabi *kośa* being used in north-west India and the Punjab is about 1¼ mile ; the *kośa* of Gangetic provinces is about 2¼ miles and the Bundela *kośa* being used in Bundelkhand and the Hindu provinces to the south of Jamuna and also in Mysore and South India is about 4 miles [4] The *kośa* of Gangetic provinces being generally taken as equal to 2 miles instead of 2¼ miles seems to have been used by Dvivedi. But otherwise, using the relation that a *yojana* contains four *kośas*, we have,

	1 Padasahi or Punjabi *yojana*	=	5 miles
	1 *yojana* of Gangetic provinces		9 miles
and	1 Bundhelkhand *yojana*	=	16 miles

D.A. Somayaji also derives that a *yojana* contains nearly 5 miles [19] (Does this *yojana* denote a Padasahi or a Punjabi yojana ?) Fleet's estimate of the value of a *yojana* is $9\frac{1}{11}$ miles [20] Sir John Bellentine has also the same estimate [21] According to L C. Jain, a *yojana* contains 4545.45 miles,[13] which is numerically 500 times $9\frac{1}{11}$ miles.

Thus if a an *ātma yojana* = $9\frac{1}{11}$ miles, — (9)

∴ 1 *pramāṇa yojana* = 500 *ātma yojana*

On using relation (9) in general, we have

1 *pramāṇa yojana* = 4545.45 miles. — (10)

Since there exists no kind of mile which is 500 times any other kind of a mile, so it appears that as if the same distance being measured in *pramāṇa yojanas* and *ātma yojanas* is expressed in miles holding that a

yojana in general contains $9\frac{1}{11}$ miles. Apparently it may seem to be convincing that if a *pramāṇa yojana* be taken as equal to 4545.45 miles, it leads to the fact that an *ātma yojana* is equal to $9\frac{1}{11}$ miles and an *utsedha yojana* is equal to $4\frac{6}{11}$ miles. Let us test this hypothesis.

The Sun on the innermost *maṇḍala* (diurnal path on Summer solstice day) is 800 *yojanas* distant from the *samatala bhūmi* which is bounded by the imaginary locus of the axis of Meru such that the Sun remains always equi-distant from it.[22] there the position of the Sun when projected on the earth also lies on the periphery of the Jambudvipa[23] whose radius is equal to 50000 *yojanas*.[17] Thus on the Summer-solstice day,

the distance, D, of the Sun from the axis of Meru is given as below :

D = 5000 y(= *ātma yojanas*, *ADS* units) — (say)
= 100 *pramāṇa yojanas* (*ADS* units)
= 800 Y(= *pramāṇa yojanas*, *TP* units)
50000 y = 800 Y — (11)

Cunningham has found out after comparing the various distances as recorded by the Chinese pilgrims between prominent places with the actual British road distances, that a *yojana* is equal to 6.7 miles and also that a mile is equal to 5.925 or about 6 *Li*.[4] This makes a *pramāṇa yojana* (*TP* units) to be equal to about 40 Li. We had tried to show earlier that the distance of 800 *yojanas* of the Sun from *samatala bhūmi* was measured in 50000 *Li* and the word '*Li*' was later on replaced by *yojanas*.[24] But any influence of *Li* over *yojana* is ruled out, for it is seen here that the same distance has been measured in two different systems of measures, i.e. *TP* units and *ADS* units.

Since astronomical distances were measured in corresponding distances over the earth,[25] let x be the maximum declination of the Sun.

∴ On the Summer solstice day, 800 y = 90—x — (11)

And the Sun traversed a distance of 510 *yojanas* from the innermost *maṇḍala* (i.e. maximum declination) upto the outermost *maṇḍala* (i.e. minimum declination) and vice versa,[2] we have :

510y = 2x — (12)

Solving (11) and (12), we have,
Maximum declination,[2] x = 23°5

From (12), we have, 510y = 47x 69.09 miles (∵ 1° = 6080ft.)[25]

1 *yojana* (*TP* units) = 6.37 miles = 6.4 miles approx.
1 *pramāṇa yojana* (*ADS* units) = 51 miles approx.
1 *ātma yojana* (*ADS* units) $\frac{51}{500}$ = .102 miles.

1 *utsedha yojana* (*ADS* units) = $\frac{102}{2}$ = .051 miles.

Therefore a *pramāṇa yojana* cannot be taken as equal to 4545.45 miles. The practical *pramāṇa yojana* (*TP* units) which was used to measure distances over the earth is equal to about 6.4 miles.

3. In conclusion, it is evident that there existed three different Jaina systems of measures and any length unit had three different magnitudes related with one another as follows :

1 *pramāṇa* unit = 500 *ātma* units = 1000 *utsedha* units.

Besides, we also have that,

1 *ADS* unit = 8 *TP* unit = $\frac{7}{8}$ Buddhistic unit.

This gives us nine different values of the number of British miles in a *yojana*. The system like Aryan units, still further suggests the scope of increase in the diversity of this relationship. Besides, the fact that the Digambras take one *pramāṇāṅgula* to be equal to 500 *utsedhāṅgulas*,[27] also arises confusion due to the misconception of an *ātmāṅgula*. Therefore one must be careful about the ancient system of measurements to which the ancient length-units like an *angula* and a *yojana* etc belong before the actual distances as implied therein are perceived. It may also be envisaged that the numerical relationship between *pramāṇa yojana*, *ātma yojana* and *utsedha yojana* had been held in esteem even much after the magnitude of a *yojana* in regard to its length in British miles had changed. Consequently the misunderstanding of an *ātma yojana* to be of $9\frac{1}{11}$ miles gave birth to a *pramāṇa yojana* of 4545.45 miles The use of ancient measures of length need a careful watch of both time and place.

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[7] *Anuyogadvara Sutra* (= *ADS*), Hindi tr. by Amolak Rishi, Jain Shastrodhar Mudranalya, Sikandrabad.
The *ADS* is one of the two individual texts of the Jaina canonical literature. It belongs to about the first century B.C. (see Srinivasa Iengar, C.N., *The History of Ancient Indian Mathematics*, 1967, pp 24-25, The World Press, Calcutta. For more details, see our paper 'Sources of Jaina Astronomy', the *Jaina Antiquary*, Vol. 29 No 1-2, pp. 19-32.

[8] अंगुले तिविहे पण्णत्ते, तंजहा—आयंगुले, उस्सेहंगुले, पमाणंगुले ॥

[9] आयंगुले ! जे णं जया मणुस्सा भवंति, ते सि णं तया अप्पणो अंगुलेणं दुवालसंगुलाइं मुहं, नवमुहाइं पुरिसे प्पमाणं जुत्ते भवति ॥

[10] पमाणंगुले एगमेगस्स ण रण्णा चाउरंतचक्कवट्टिस्स अट्ठ सोवण्णिए कागणीरयणे छत्तले दुवालसंसिए अट्ठकण्णिए अहिगरण संगाणं संगिए पण्णत्ते. तस्स णं एगमेगा कोडी अस्सेहंगुल विक्खंभा. तं समणस्स भगवओ महाबीरस्स अद्धंगुल, तं सहस्संगुल प्पमाणंगुल भवति ॥

[11] अणंताणं वावहारिय परमाणु पोग्गलाणं समुदय समिति समागमेणं सा एगा अस्सण्हसण्हिया ति वा, अट्ठ अस्सण्हसण्हियाओ सा एगा सण्हसण्हिया, अट्ठ सण्हसण्हियाओ सा एगा उड्ढरेणू, अट्ठ उड्ढरेणूओ सा एगा तसरेणू, अट्ठ तसरेणूओ सा एगा रहरेणू, अट्ठरहरेणूओ देवकुरु-उत्तरकुरुयाणं मणुयाण से एगे वालग्गे, अट्ठ देवकुरु-उत्तरकुरुयाणं मणुयाणं वालग्गा हरिवासरम्मगवासाणंमणुस्साणं से एगे बालग्गे. अट्ठहरिवास-रम्मगवासाणं मणुस्साणं वालग्गा हेमवय-हेरण्णवयवासाणं मणुस्साणं से एगे बालग्गे, अट्ठ हेमवय-हेरण्णवयवासाण मणुस्साणं बालग्गा पुव्वविदेह अवरविदेहाणं मणुस्साणं से एगे वालग्गे, अट्ठ पुव्वबिदेह-अवर विदेहाणं मणुस्साणं वालग्गा भरहेरवयाणं मणुस्साणं से एगे वालग्गे, अट्ठ भरहेरवयाणं मणुसाणं बालग्गा सा एगा लिक्खा, अट्ठ लिक्खाओ सा एगा जूया, अट्ठ जुयाओं से एगे जबमज्झे, अट्ठ जवमज्झे से एगे उस्सेहंगुले ॥

[12] See *ADS*. 149.12, 124.13.1, 149.23.

[13] See Jain, L C., 'Tiloya Pannatti ka Ganita '(in Hindi), prefixed with *'Jambudiva Pannatti Samgaho'*, 1958, p. 21, edited by A. N. Upadhye and Hira Lal Jain. Jivaraj Jain Granthamala No. 7, Sholapur.
According to Upadhye (see *TP* Vol. II intro. p. 7, Jivaraj Jain Granthamala No. 1, Sholapur), the date of Yativrsabha, the author of *Tiloya Pannatti*, is

assigned to some period between 473 A D. and 609 A.D. However, its present recension may belong to 9th century A D. (see *TP*, Vol. II intro. p. 20). According to Hira Lal Jain (see his '*Bhartiya Sanskrti-men Jain Dharm-ka Yogadan*' in Hindi, 1952, p. 96, Madhya Pradesh Shasan Sahitya Prishad, Bhopal), the *TP* belongs to some period between 500-800 A.D However, the fixing of date of the work is still to be investigated (Private communication with Professor L. C. Jain, Dept of Mathematics, Govt S N. P. G College, Khandwa).

[14] *Siddhanta Siromani Goladhyaya* First. ed edited with notes by Girija Prashad Dvivedi (1911), pp 67-68, Newul Kishore Press, Lucknow

[15] *Lalita-visatra*, edited by R Mitra, p 168 (See *Visva Prahelika* by Muni Mahendra Kumar II, in Hindi, 1969 p 236 Javeri Prakashan, Matunga, Bombay.)
See also *Lalita-visatra*, edited in Sanskrit by P. L. Vaidya (1958), The Mithila Institute of Post-graduate Studies and Research in Learning, Darbhanga.

[16] Srinivas Iengar, C. N , *op cit*. p. 22

[17] Gupta, R C 'Circumference of the Jambudvipa in Jaina Cosmography', *IJHS*. Vol 10 No. 1 (1975), pp. 38-46.

[18] '*Alberuni's India*', Eng tr. by Edward C Sachau (1964), First Indian Reprint, p. 167, Ch. XV, S. Chand and Co , N Delhi

[19] Somayaji, D A., A *Critical Study of Ancient Hindu Astronomy* (1971), p. 145, Karnataka University, Dharwar

[20] *JRAS* (1907), p 656
See Kaye, G R., '*Memoires of Archaeological Survey of India*' No. 18 *Hindu Astronomy* (1924), p 124 Calcutta University Press, Calcutta

[21] '*Nyaya Kaumudi*' by Sir John Bellentine (in Sanskrit), Commentary by S. D. Sharma (in Press)

[22] See Sharma, S D and Lishk S. S., 'Latitude of the Moon as Determined in Jaina Astronomy'. *Sramana*, Vol 27 No. 2 , Dec. 1975, pp. 28-35 , Parshvanath Vidyashram Research Centre, Varanasi

[23] Lishk, S. S and Sharma, S. D., 'Notion of Obliquity of Ecliptic implied in the Concept of Mount Meru in Jambudvipa Prajnapti', *Jain Journal*, Vol 12 No 3, pp. 79-92

[24] Lishk, S. S and Sharma, S D , 'Post-Vedanga Pre-Siddhantic Indian Astronomy'. Paper presented at Summer School on History of Science, Vigyan Bhawan, Indian National Science Academy, New Delhi (Sept 1974) See also our paper 'Notion of Obliquity of Ecliptic implied in the concept of Mount Meru in Jambudvipa Prajnapti', *op cit*

[25] Lishk, S S and Sharma, S D , 'The Evolution of Measures in Jaina Astronomy', *Tirthankar*, Vol 1 Nos 7-12 Rajendra Surishvar special number (July-Dec 1975)., pp 83-92

[26] Smart, W M , '*Spherical Astronomy*' (1949), p. 6 , Cambridge University Press, Cambridge

[27] See *Visva Prahelika* by Muni Mahendra Kumar II, op. cit p 236.



The Images of the Jaina Tirthankara Neminatha at Khajuraho

MARUTI NANDAN PRASAD TIWARI

Khajuraho, situated in the Chhatarpur district, Madhya Pradesh, has yielded over four hundred Jaina images excluding those represented on the door-ways and fragmentary door-lintels. Of these, more than one hundred and fifty images represent the Jinas in the usual two postures, namely, the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* (standing erect with both arms reaching up to the knees) and the *dhyānamudrā* (seated cross-legged with upturned palms placed one over the other in the lap), the latter being of more frequent occurrence. The Jaina sculptures at Khajuraho are the products exclusively of the Digambara sect and are spread over the tenth (c. 954 Parsvanatha Temple) to the twelfth century. The Digambara affiliation of the iconographic vestiges is indicated by the fact that the Jinas are rendered as sky-clad, the nudity being clearly ascertainable in some of the seated figures even where the hands laid in the lap are damaged. The association of the Jaina building activity at Khajuraho with the Digambaras is further evidenced by the occurrence of the depiction of the sixteen auspicious dreams at the site in place of the fourteen as usual

with the Svetambaras.[1] In the present paper I wish to say about the iconographic features of the Neminatha images at Khajuraho.

Neminatha, the twenty-second Jina, has enjoyed undoubtedly a favoured position in the concrete representations through the ages. The distinguishing emblem of Neminatha is the conch and the Sasanadevatas associated with him are Kubera (Sarvanubhuti) and Ambika (Kusmandi). The pot-bellied Yaksa Kubera rides over an elephant and invariably holds a mongoose-skin purse, this being his distinguishing attribute. The Yaksi Ambika riding a lion invariably bears an *āmralumbi* (a bunch of mangoes) and a child (seated on the lap) in her hands as her distinct symbols. It is to be noted that the conventional and standardized forms of Kubera and Ambika were known to the Khajuraho sculptors.

Neminatha is represented by two images at Khajuraho. These images are worked out of the buff coloured sandstone and vary from 26"×15" to 54"×31" in their measurements. The figures are attributable to the eleventh-twelfth century It may be said here that although the Yaksa Kubera and the Yaksi Ambika, associated with Neminatha, were accorded the most favoured position in the Jaina sculptures of Khajuraho,[2] their Master (Neminatha) could not receive that much veneration which is

[1] The sixteen auspicious dreams of the Digambara tradition are as follows ; elephant , bull ; lion ; the goddess *Padma* (Sri, Gaja or Maha-Laksmi) seated on lotuses and lustrated by a pair of elephants , a pair of garlands ; the moon , the sun , a pair of full-vases with lotuses placed on their mouths : a pair of fishes ; celestial lake , agitated ocean , a *simhasana* , a *vimana* , a *nagendrabhavana* ; a heap of jewels , smokeless fire (*nirdhum agni*) These dreams were seen by the respective mothers of all the twenty-four Jinas soon after the origination of the embryo.

[2] The Yaksa Kubera is represented by four separate sculptures Barring the separate figures, he has also been portrayed as the attendant Yaksa of almost all the Jinas, other than those of Parsvanatha, at Khajuraho. At times even with Rsabhanatha, the iconographic form of whose Yaksa (Gomukha) was well known to the Khajuraho sculptors, the two-armed Kubera has been carved I may note here that the purse has always been his distinguishing symbol Regarding the favoured position of Yaksi Ambika, it would suffice us to note that she has been represented by as many as eleven independent figures at Khajuraho. Besides, she has also been depicted on one extremity of the seven door-lintels of which one is attached to the Adinatha Temple. In accordance with the available iconographic prescriptions, she invariably rides over a lion and bears an *amralumbi* and a child in her hands. It may be remarked that contrary to the Yaksa Kubera, Ambika has never been rendered with any other Jina but Neminatha. Consult, Tiwari Maruti Nandan Prasad, 'Images of Ambika in the Jaina Temples at Khajuraho' *Jour. Oriental Institute*, Vol XXIV, Nos. 1-2, Sept.-Dec. 1974, pp. 243-46

very much evident from the number of his separate sculptures. The number of the Neminatha images is comparatively less than that of the Rsabhanatha, Parsvanatha, Mahavira, Santinatha, Ajitanatha, Sambhavanatha and Suparsvanatha images.

The images of Neminatha at Khajuraho exhibit a uniformity of style with regard to their execution and detail, this being the case with the other Jina images also both here and elsewhere. They are carved with all their attributes, namely, the *aṣṭaprātihāryas*,[3] the *śrīvatsa* in the centre of the chest, the distinguishing emblem (conch) and the Yaksa-Yaksi pair. Both the figures of Neminatha exhibit him as seated cross-legged with his hands laid on the lap in *dhyāna-mudrā* on an ornate cushion decorated with lozenges and floral design. The ornate cushion in one case (K. 14) is placed over a lotus seat. The *mūlanāyaka* is attended upon by a standing flywhisk bearer on each flank. Over the head of the principal Jina is carved a *chatra-trayī* topped by a prostrate figure beating a drum. Now I proceed to treat the individual details of each of the Neminatha images.

The first Neminatha image measuring 26"×15" is enshrined in the Modern Temple No. 10.[4] The cognizance (conch) of the Jina carved on the lowermost portion of the throne is much effaced. But the rendering of the Yaksi Ambika makes the identification of the Jina with Neminatha doubtless. The throne ends are supported by two lions, suggesting *simhāsana*. The lions are shown as peeping out from the pedestal. The usual *dharmacakra* and the covering cloth of the throne are absent here. At each throne end are carved figures of two devotees. The flanking *cāmaradharas* bear a flywhisk in the inner hand while the outer hand is resting on the thigh On the lowermost portion of the throne, there appears seven seated figures, perhaps portraying *grahas*.

The halo of the principal Jina is decorated with beaded bands and lotus petals. Above the triple parasol is sculptured a couple of flying *māladharas* on each side over which their again appears a single hovering figure. The top *parikara* exhibits an elephant with riders at each end.

The throne ends are occupied by the figures of two-armed Yaksa and Yaksi, seated in *lalita*-pose with one leg dangling down and the other

[3] The eight chief attendant attributes are : *Asoka* tree, scattering of flowers by gods, divine music, flywhisks, lion-throne, nimbus, heavenly drum-beating and *chatra-trayi*.

[4] The author regrets that he is unable to illustrate the images of Neminatha at Khajuraho.

being tucked up. The Yaksa shows the *varada-mudrā* (boon-conferring gesture) with his right hand while the left one is resting on thigh. The Yaksa without the purse symbol cannot be identified with Kubera. The Yaksi Ambika supports a child, seated on her lap, with her surviving left hand However, the lion mount of Ambika is conspicuous by its absence The present Neminatha image is datable to c. eleventh century both on stylistic and iconographic grounds.

The second image measuring 54" × 31" is lying in the open Air Museum (K. 14), contiguous to the Adinatha Temple The head of the *mūlanāyaka* is lost now. The pilasters bearing the throne are also damaged. The lions of the throne are rendered as seated with their backs turned towards each other and facing the observer The covering cloth hanging from the throne is ornamented with the *kīrtimukha* motif. Below the *dharmacakra* is depicted the conch emblem of Neminatha. The outer hands of the *chaurie*-bearers are broken off but the inner hands carry flywhisks kept over their shoulders. The trilinear umbrella surmounted by a disembodied figure beating a drum is much worn

The top *parikara* contains the figures of the two couples of hovering *māladharas* topped by two other *māladharas*. An elaborately carved nimbus shows—from centre outwards—blossom circlet, prominent garland, rosettes and lozenges. There occurs sporadic representation of the twenty-three diminutive Jina figures at the *parikara*, which along with the figure of *mūlanāyaka* makes the present image a *cauvisī* of Neminatha. Of the twenty-three Jinas, one is provided with the five-headed cobra overhead; thus identifiable with the seventh Jina Suparsvanatha. The throne-back-ends are ornamented with the *gaja-vyāla-makara* trio.

The two recessed corners of the throne contain the figures of the two-armed Yaksa and Yaksi, seated in *lalitāsana* and joined by adorers. The right hand of the Yaksa Kubera, is damaged, while the corresponding left bears a mongoose-skin-purse The Yaksi Ambika bears a bunch of mangoes in her right hand while with corresponding left she supports a child seated in her lap The image is assignable to c. twelfth century.



Dancing Vidyadevi on the outer wall of Ajitanatha Temple, Taranga

BOOK REVIEW

INDIA & INDOLOGY, being the selected articles by Late PROFESSOR W. NORMAN BROWN, edited by Rosane Rocher and published for the American Institure of Indian Studies by Motilal Banarasidass, Delhi, 1978, pp. 302 royal with 54 pages containing plates, Price Rs 190 00

The volume under notice contains selected articles by the Late Professor W. Norman Brown written over a period of fifty years. Initially purported to be a volume to be presented to the Late Professor Brown in appreciation of his extraordinary career, it has turned out to be a Commemoration volume, since Prof Brown passed away in 1975. The sentiment expressed by the Trustees in offering "this tribute to both Professor Brown and India" is commendable.

Books apart, Prof Brown was the author of many articles on Indology and book reviews which appeared in 54 Journals which have been listed. Even the articles and reviews have been listed year by year, starting from 1919, till after his death. Such rich material scattered at innumerable places would have been virtually forgotten, as it usually happens, over a period of time Their collection and printing between two covers will undoubtedly serve a lasting purpose. The volume, however, is not exhaustive It presents only a part of Norman Brown, not the whole As the editor of the volume tells us, it was first decided that only scholarly articles should be reprinted, and as it turned out to be, "scholarly contributions to Indology necessarily took precedence." We feel that the decision was wise, since not everything written by any man stands the test of time, and in eliminating the transcient and less tangible, the editor has shown her imagination and sense of responsibility

The Late Prof. Brown's "independent creative work" which adorned the columns of scholarly journals and are reprinted in this volume fall under four heads. Part I entitled Veda & Religion has fourteen papers, including one of his earliest, 'Proselyting the Asuras . A Note on *Rg Veda*' (1919), and one of his latest which is still to appear in the proceeding's of the Sanskrit Conference held in New Delhi in 1972. In introducing this part, Prof. R N Dandekar of the University of Poona recalls Prof. Brown's three recurring themes which are cultural continuities in India,

the act of truth and creation, myths in the *Rg Veda*. They are really expressive of his deep insight into Indian thought It is not enough for a scholar from outside to study and express opinion about the culture-elements in the counting of his choice like a visitor from another planet. What he is expected to do is to live through the cultural traditions of the country, drink deep at its fountain before he acquires the necessary outlook and competence which are called for the job. It is really amazing that Prof. Brown, though an American, had many opportunities since his childhood for a direct and living contact with men and thought of India, and this he was able to utilise to the full. The four ideas which appeared to him to be basic to Indian culture, viz., the unbending quest for Realty, respect for life as reflected in the Ahimsa ideal, the view of temporal life as a 'noose' of bondage and reverence for the great teachers, have been elaborated at length in his *Man in the Universe* ; but he attained, the height of ecstacy when, like Gandhi to whom God was Truth and Truth God, he dealt on his pet theme of the Metaphysics of Truth in the Indian context, which he did for instance at a conference of South East Asian Studies at Norman, Okla, in the fall of 1960, when he spoke at length on the motto adopted by the Govt. of India viz, *satyameva jayate*, with reference to the power of Truth which, according to him was able to bend even the cosmic forces in the Indian tradition

Part II deals with Prof. Brown's eight contributions to the study of Indian fiction and folklore which have been introduced by Prof V Raghavan of the University of Madras, who draws a geneology of western scholars preceding Brown who have worked in this particular field. Prof. Raghavan recalls that Brown's doctoral dissertation at Johns Hopkins was "The *Pañcatantra* in Modern Indian Folklore" (1919), and the Bibliography of Indian folklore offered by Brown as an Appendix to his dissertation comprising 131 publications and prepared more than half a century ago is now preserved by the re-printing of this article In this field, Prof. Brown's particular interest was to trace the original home of a tale or motif, which he did for many, against the conflicting claims which he tried to settle.

Part III deals with Prof. Brown's eight contributions to Indian Art which have been introduced by Dr. Moti Chandra of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay, who recalls his valuable work in the least recognised field of pre-Mughal painting which did not attract any one before. Prof. Brown's pioneering work in this field has been recognised to be "substantial and important". Equally substantial has been his work in Western Indian painting, as it existed in the illustrated mss, especially of Svetambara Jain origin, and it was due to his untiring efforts, we are

told, that the illustrated mss of the *Kalpasūtra* and *Kālakācarya Kathā* were unearthed from a Jain collection at Ahemedabad, whose border decorations show "definite Persian influence". Some of these from the *Kalpasūtra* have been printed in black and white (not in original colour which would have given a better effect itself) as plates at the end of the volume. Prof. Brown's work has inspired more scholars latter to unearth illustrated mss from Digambara Jaina sources, which have added further to our knowledge of Jaina art as a whole

Part IV deals with Prof. Brown's contributions to Indian Philology on which are reprinted five articles in the present volume which have been introduced by Prof. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee of the University of Calcutta. As the articles indicate, this interest was mostly concentrated on Prakrit which has been the language of the traditional Jaina texts and this brought him straight in touch with Jaina works like *Mahipāl-caritra* & *Uttarādhyayana Sutra* But unlike Prof. Chatterjee whose specialisation was in Philology, with Prof. Brown, Philology was only a part of a wide and comprehensive canvas which contained what has been lovingly called the entire gamut of Oriental Studies. Prof Chatterjee who was wellknown for his wide culinary interest and an exceptionally fit stomach to digest recalls a day in the company of Prof Brown at his own house at the Hindusthan Park when along with other recipes was served a plate of very hot green chillies, not necessary nor usual, apparently to enjoy, how his learned guest reacted to them, but when Prof Brown chewed the staff at ease and without tears in his eyes, to the great surprise of his Indian host, Prof Brown explained that he could stand this feat because he had spent his childhood in India. Considering some of the hard nuts which Prof. Brown had to crack in his lifetime, the chewing of the chilli's must have been a lesser job for him. Indeed, Prof. Brown had not only spent his childhood in India but was a frequent visitor to this country, a living bridge between the two cultures and it will be no exaggeration to say that he possessed an Indian soul born by *vigrahagati* in the United States

We welcome the publication under notice to commemorate the work of a lifetime by Late Prof W. Norman Brown.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE JAINAS, by Walther Schubring, translated into English from *Die Lehre der Jainas* by Wolfgang Beurleu, published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, first edition, 1962, and reprint, 1978, pp. demy 336, Price Rs 50.00.

The book under review is the reprint of the English translation of a well-known work in the field of Jainology written in German and published

in 1934 by a German Indologist Walther Schubring. Its English translation first appeared at a gap of 28 years which has been reprinted now. We hope that its publication will be welcomed, the more so because as more centres of Jaina Studies are coming up, each one would aspire to posses a copy of this book on its shelf. Because of the reprint, we are sure, it will be readily available in the market for many years to come.

As reprint, it conld not but be the same as the first, though we sincerely desire, the Publishers could at least have added an appendix to chapter one entitled 'A Short History of Jaina Research' making it uptodate, which would have added immensely to the value of the book.

MONOLITHIC JINAS, The Iconography of the Jaina Temples of Ellora by Jose Pereira, published by Motilal Banarsidass, Delhi, 1977, pp. 186, Price Rs. 40.00

Jose Pereira's is a delightful monograph on the iconography of the Jaina Temples of Ellora in which the author has many things to say which cannot be contained in a brief review like this. His interest is aesthetic, not theosophical and he feels that in the Indic art tradition, the Jainas easily excel others in zest and power in the monolithic temples at Ellora. There are four chapters in the monograph, the first presenting an overall view of Jaina religion and art, the second a discussion of Jaina monuments at Ellora, particularly against the historical background of the reign of the Rastrakutas and the Yadavas, the third a description of the themes of Jaina sculptures, and the fourth, which in fact is the most important, the classification of the temple structures under 56 headings There are three appendices on the Inscritptions of Ellora, the Kailasa and the origin of the Rastrakutas which according to the author is Konkani. In the end there are two plans, one about the cave temples and another about the themes therein Sixteen illustrations have been included in support of the author's thesis.

The author has not restricted himself to iconography only but has found opportunity to address himself to the Philosophy of Jainism and, as already said, he has entered the arena of history. He has neatly traced the stages in the development of Jaina iconography in which Ellora, according to him, falls in the last stage. One curt observation by the author is deserving of attention, viz., "No Indian iconography is more tedious and repetitive than the Jaina". This is perhaps the outcome of the Jainas' too much preoccupation with his own self.

ACARANGASUTRAM & SUTRAKRTANGASUTRAM, with *Niryukti* by Acarya Bhadrabahu and *Tīkā* by Acarya Silanka, being

Lala Sunadarlal Jain Agamagranthamala, Vol. I, the text originally edited by Late Acarya Sagarananda Suri and reedited with appendices, etc., by Muni Jambuvijaya, assited by Muni Dharma Candra Vijaya, issued by Motilal Banarasidass Indological Trust, Delhi, 1978, pp. 400 royal, Price Rs. 120.00.

When in the wake of the 2500th Nirvana Anniversary of Bhagavan Mahavira in 1975, the Jaina *Agamas* started appearing in the market from several sects, mostly bare text in Prakrit, without coordination and not with adequate competence, the Late Lala Sundarlal felt somewhat pained which must have flashed the idea in his mind, which he later expressed to a chance visitor in his room at his Bungalow Road residence, of bringing out a competent and authentic editon of the early Jaina texts, with authoritative commentaries, to make them not only more useful but to render them free from sectarian bias. As it appeared to his caller, the work had already been planned with elaborate home work preceding it and competent editor chosen after a careful screening, of which the most delightful outcome is the volume under notice in these column This is indeed the fructification of the long dream of one who had identified himself with Indology in general and Jainology in particular through a life-long interest in the subject, which was very much enriched by his personal contact with savants in the field. This went in the making not of a publisher, but a creative publisher, who like a creative artist, produces a master-piece destined to be a source of delight to the people beyond the bounds of space and time. It would have been nice if the finished product of his dream could have seen the light of the day when Lala Sundarlal was alive, but we must now congratulate the publishers, Motilal Banerasidass Indological Trust, who have been exhibited a commendable imagination in making it a Commemoration Volume for the departed soul As the work which bunches together the first two texts of the Jaina *Agamas*, *Ayāro* and *Suyagado* is marked volume one, it raises a legitimate expectation that the Trust has plans to issue, one after another at convenimet intervals, the remaining nine in the same series. That would indeed be the completion of a monumental job.

The task of reviewing a work like this is very simple, since there is hardly any scope for controversy, of which there is scope only when the work emanates from the pen of a lesser person. The Jaina *Agamas* are believed to be above or beyond controversy, the work by great masters, which came to them in the natual process of the perfection, enlightenment and liberation of the soul, which is far, far above the level of intellectual or academic venture. Bhadrabahu, to whom the *Niryukti* printed herein is due, was a Srutakevalin, which means that although he was not himself the direct recipient of the supreme knowledge, he knew all the

Jaina traditional texts by heart with the help of a superhuman memory, and the list of works which is usually attributed to him is simply amazing. One simply wonders how so much was possible to achieve during a life time. Acarya Silanka whose *Tīkā* has also been printed was also a class one intellectual The editing, we have no doubt must have been competent, so that for many years to come the present text will be the most competent and authoritative for Scholars to draw from. —K. C. Lalwani

TREASURES OF JAINA BHANDARAS. edited by Umakant P. Shah, published by L. D. Institute of Indology, Ahmedabad, L. D. Series 69. General Editors . Dalsukh Malavania and Nagin J. Shah, pp. Nine + 100, plates · coloured 18, black-and-white 82, Price Rs. 250.00, U.S. Dollars Forty.

When we search for the undefinable glory of civilization in the dusk of forgetfulness sometimes the colour of its rainbow may gleam in the horizon of our study and seduce us to the eternal beauty of art. Though researches and investigations of classic dimension and depth have been done uptil now with regards to expressions of art in ancient India the present publication illuminates no doubt a hitherto unattended field of scintillating creations. We are having a glimpse of this memorable field of art in the book of U P. Shah, the savant on the history of art and iconography of the religion of the *Nirgrantha* who had already guided us here with Moti Chandra in their monumental work *New Documents of Jaina Paintings from Western India* (Ahmedabad, 1975). A charming complement to the latter is represented by the *More Documents of Jaina Paintings* (Ahmedabad, 1976) brought about by U P Shah In these two books it was tried "to find out and publish especially those documents which bear a date and/or the name of the place of copying. With the help of the material so far published, and with several new documents discussed in the present work, one can now form a better idea of several centres of painting and styles in Gujarat and Rajasthan, especially from fourteenth to the twentieth centuries A.D." (p. 2) The pioneering works of Ananda Coomaraswamy and W Norman Brown in respect of Jaina paintings illustrating the *Kalpa-sūtra*, *Kālaka-katha*. *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* etc. will be remembered here as they earlier emphasised on this aspect of Indian art that deserved a wider appreciation and critical study. The present publication of U. P Shah has given a new dimension to the study of paintings in Western India, especially Gujarat and Rajasthan in the last several centuries. While considering these invaluable works of art one may recall the earlier manuscript illustrations and sculptures whose beauty gleamed with the purity of detachment or as a lamp of poetry that can glow for ever in a lonely world While the beguiling grace of the dancing Vidyadevi on the wall of the Ajitanatha temple at Taranga built by

Kumarapala in 12th century A.D. is incomparable, the sensitivity of form retained a degree of its warmth and grandeur even in later paintings like the one of a donor lady occurring in the *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacaritra* (Cambay Cat. No. 186, Folio 234). Cataloguing as far as practicable the "important mss., sculptures and other antiquities of Jaina Art" displayed in an Exhibition organised by the L.D. Institute of Indology on the occasion of 2500 years of Lord Mahavira's *nirvāna* the book has covered a wide range of paintings and other objects. In fact, the Exhibition brought in view of the world some of the outstanding works of art as preserved in Jaina *Bhandāras* and temples. The Jaina *Bhaṇḍāras* as libraries appear to be real treasure-houses of the past as their illuminated manuscripts of palm-leaf and paper reveal a spectrum of grace, formalisation and symbolism more endearing than the glow of gems. The Exhibition organised by the L. D. Institute also contained a variety of items other than objects of Jaina affiliation. These included the folios of the Hindi Ramayana of Tulsidasa copied in *Devanāgarī* and in Urdu script, the folios of the *Kirātārjunīya-Mahākāvya* of Bharavi besides a 14th century Tantric armour of bone carved with Buddhist gods Among the precious sculptures illustrated in the book the most invaluable appears to be that of Parsvanatha of light green jade which adorns the publication as the frontispiece Presented as a gift to L D Institute by Muni Sri Punyavijayaji (Cat No. 575) the image appears to be unique for its sheer majesty befitting of the omniscient. As regards the paintings experienced in the *Bhaṇḍāras* the following comments of U. P. Shah reflect a deep appreciation of the regional styles

"Paintings of plam-leaf miniatures in the Santinatha Jaina *Bhaṇḍāra*, Cambay, show a variety of 'schools' or 'sub-styles' of the Western Indian style, and need a more careful analysis along with other specimens from Patan, Jesalmere, Ahmedabad, etc. Several artist families worked in such centres and with the large number of palm-leaf and a far greater number of paper manuscripts discovered, a certain grouping and classification of different schools or sub-styles should now be attempted again since, after the classification attempted by W. Norman Brown, much more and varied material has come to light " (p. 3)

The Jaina paintings published in the memorable volume contain as it seems a forgotten splendour of the past that was rooted in the sensitivity of ancient and traditional styles while their linear grace, movement and delicacy are continually refreshed by the eternal fount of the purity of Jaina ideology and its conviction in the understanding of the universe and the liberation of soul.

—P. C. Das Gupta

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"He, who himself hurts the creatures,
or gets them hurt by others,
or approves of hurt done by others,
augments the world's hostility towards himself."

—LORD MAHAVIRA

He who vieweth all creatures as his own self and seeth them all alike and hath stopped all influx of *karma* and is self restrained incurreth no sin.

—LORD MAHAVIRA

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